NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

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Pro-Slavery.

We find the following Communication in the *Burlington N. J. Gazette*. It was evidently, written by a Friend one of the Rough and Ready Quakers, we presume, who helped to elect Old Zack. As he does not approve our cause will he not have the goodness to enlighten our readers as to the measures which he is using to ameliorate the condition of the Slaves? What are the awful means which distinguish those whom he calls Abolitionists? Our columns are open to him, and he may be sure by our copying this article, how ready we are that he should have a fair chance at converting our readers from the errors of their ways.

Anti-Slavery and Abolition.

Friend Atkinson,—The following paragraph in thy paper of the 8th instant, both surprised and pained me, viz:

"AN ESCAPE.—We have just heard of the escape from Slavery of a white girl, eighteen years of age, of uncommon beauty, the property of a clergyman at the South. When questioned as to her parentage, she did not deny that her owner was her father.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*"

I concluded in my own mind that thee had cut it from some paper without examination in the hurry of making out copy, but yet I suppose that in clipping out an extract that was credited to *such a paper* as the Anti-Slavery Standard, (for I could not suppose thee would exchange with that paper) thee would have particularly examined the *credibility* and the *bearing* of the paragraph—the above carries on the face of it enough to prove it a base slander on the slave-holder. I delayed making any remarks on it, in hopes that some more able pen than mine would have taken up the dissection of it.

Let us examine it in detail—"we have just heard of the escape from Slavery of a white girl," this charges the Southern slave-owner with holding *white girls* in Slavery, when it is well known to the editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard that a white girl could be just as securely held in Slavery in Boston, Massachusetts, as in Richmond, Virginia. The South justifies the holding of black and coloured slaves as being both legally and morally right—their minds have not been formed in the same mould as ours of the North, neither is their education the same; they are taught from their earliest infancy to look upon blacks as slaves only—therefore we should make great allowance for Southern opinions and endeavour to convince them of their error, *but not through their slaves.*

To continue our examination—in order to heighten the interest of the public, she is placed at the interesting period of "eighteen years of age," and still further to call out all our sympathies, she was "of uncommon beauty," and then to give to it the colouring of the opinions promulgated by that paper, by giving a side blow at religion, she was "the property of a clergyman of the South" and also "when questioned as to her parentage, she did not deny that her owner was her father." This question as to her parentage would be perfectly ridiculous, as it is not probable that she knew who was her father, but it answers an excellent purpose to bring the clergyman in again. The whole is a sample of the many bungling paragraphs of the Anti-Slavery editor, and has too much the appearance of being "manufactured not of whole cloth," to be believed by any but the most rabid Anti-Slavery man. It is the opinion of many philanthropists, who have laboured for years to benefit the condition and emancipate the slave that the Anti-Slavery Standard has, by its false statements and exciting paragraphs, been the means of preventing the emancipation of thousands who are now held in bondage.

I am an Abolitionist in the full meaning of the word, but do not approve of the operations of the Anti-Slavery Society—and that I may not be misunderstood I will explain what I mean by those terms. By Anti-Slavery, I mean all who publish and circulate incendiary and exciting pamphlets on the subject of Slavery, either at the north, thereby exciting the north against the south, or among the Slaves of the south in a clandestine manner; having the effect on their uniformed and uncultivated minds, of causing them to rise against their masters, their wives and their children, and commit bloodshed and murder. Many zealots who think they are doing God service have done this.

They also work upon weak minds to induce them to go south, for the purpose of running Slaves to the north, whilst they themselves remain in safety at home to attend at the gates of the "under-ground railroad," for the purpose of running the Slaves off to Canada. This not only irritates the slave owner, but causes him to shut his ears against all argument of the Abolitionist on the subject of Slavery; and will also prevent the slaveholders from discussing it among themselves, except for the purpose of inventing some more effectual means of securing their slaves, thus riveting their chains still more closely than they were before, and injuring them instead of benefiting them.

By Abolitionist, I mean those who are using all lawful means to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and who endeavour to obtain in all the States of the Union the passage of laws for the abolition of Slavery, and who operate on the South by addressing the *slave owner*, and endeavour to convince *them* of the sinfulness of holding slaves. An Abolitionist may go to any part of the South and converse with the slaveholders on this subject, and they will discuss it with him, give all attention to his arguments and treat him as a gentleman as long as he does not converse upon it with the slaves. An Abolitionist also disapproves of the citizens of one State interfering with the subject of Slavery in other States, except by way of counsel and advice to *slave owners*, with such assistance as he may be asked to give.

An insertion of the above in thy increasingly interesting paper will much oblige CLARKSON.

Philadelphia, 12th mo. 30, 1848.

Selections.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION IN LITTLE PEDDLINGTON

While the nations of the old Continent are upheaved with revolutions, France labouring in the throes of social regeneration, Germany convulsed, Austria alternating from the absolution of an idiot Emperor to the license of an uninstructed mob, and reciting a confused monopolylogue, in Suabian, Croatian, Hungarian, now all liberty, now all despotism,—Italy obliterating the Alps and Appenines, and realizing the idea of Italian nationality by *resolution*, to forfeit it the next week by *irresolution*—the chair of St. Peter rocking, but not to a lullaby, in the convulsion—the tidings strikes on the overburdened ear of the public of a "REVOLUTION IN LITTLE PEDDLINGTON."

On the 12th instant, the Legislature of South Carolina passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the time *for discussion* by the slaveholding States as to their exclusion from the territory recently acquired from New Mexico, *has passed*; and that this General Assembly, representing the feeling of the people of the State, is prepared to co-operate with her sister States in resisting the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to such territory, at any and every hazard.

The other resolutions suggest a convention of States, for the same chivalrous purpose; and their passage is to be followed up by deeds as terrible as the words. General Quattlebum is to drop his whip and draw his potent sword. The whole tribe of militia Generals, including General Commander, who marched upon and took the Baltimore Convention, is to be called out—and all his constituents are to follow. The devoted slaves are to be marshalled by their overseers to resist the encroachment of free institutions, which, according to John C. Calhoun, are ever accompanied by blindness, insanity, and crime. The North is to face heroes who have daily knocked down hundreds of men and women and children, scattering them in all directions, with no other weapon than a hammer, no other fortification than an auction stand.

Discussion having passed, the pen is to be thrown de—except the slave-pen—and the controversy settled by the final arbitrament of States—the bowie knife. A new holy-alliance is to be constituted, a Congress of Powers, such as the Sovereigns held at Vienna for the pacification of Europe, which is to proclaim the "fixed facts" that Slavery is a blessed institution, and to be established in all new soil, and restored in the Free States where possible, Senator HALE to be hung by Foote of Mississippi, and the Barnburners expatriated, in a mass.

This is the outline of the great Carolinian movement that is destined to divide the public anxieties now centered in European revolutions, Asiatic Cholera and California gold. When we look at it, and contemplate it in all its bearings, we are constrained, as patriots and friends of the human race, to ask why in the mysterious economy of Providence, a country which is famous for the indigenous sweetness of its potatoes, should bring forth such bitter political fruits?—*Albany Atlas.*

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WESTERN N. Y. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Convention assembled at the new Concert Hall on State street, and was called to order on Friday, December 22, 1848, but the operations of the Fair not being concluded, the meeting adjourned until Saturday, 10 o'clock A. M.

JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY presided. Committees were appointed as follows:

On Business—Joseph C. Hathaway, F. Douglass, Sarah C. Owen, Abner H. Francis, Abigail Bush.

On Finance—Amy Post, Sarah C. Owen, George W. Clark.

On Nomination—Henry Bush, Amy Post, R. G. Murray, Sarah C. Owen, L. Burtis.

REPORT:

From the earliest days of the Anti-Slavery movement in this country, the report of the societies to carry on our work have been listened to and read with earnest interest by the members of those societies. Published in the columns of the Anti-Slavery newspapers, or issued from the press in pamphlets, they have found their way through the crowded city and quiet country—have been preserved by the lovers of liberty for all, as mementoes of the past, and become in some part a part of the periodical literature of the friends of the oppressed. At the Annual meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, the Executive Committee lay their report before the members of the Society, trusting that, for the sake of our great and holy cause, it will be received with the attention the importance of that cause demands, and hoping earnestly that all may be cheered by the signs of progress it makes known, and stirred up to a greater exertion by the evidence it reveals for the sad want of sympathy for the enslaved, in the public mind. At the commencement of the year which is now closed, the Committee made arrangements to raise funds and employ lecturing agents in the field. The sum of $260 was pledged, the greater part of which has been paid, and the services of Joseph C. Hathaway and Charles L. Remond, two well-known advocates of the cause, secured as lecturers. It was hoped and confidently expected that, with the sums pledged these agents might be able to collect enough in places they lectured in, to be sustained. In this we were disappointed and after a fair trial, we were under the painful necessity of dismissing them from the service of the Society.

Frederick Douglass, ever ready to do all in his power to keep others from a bondage beneath which he has suffered grievously, offered to labour in this vicinity when his time could be spared, and has occasionally held meetings in the neighbouring towns, by which much has been done to awaken the people to a sense of their position and duty. In this connection we would speak of the North Star in this city as a cheering sign of promise and aid. Of the character of the paper and the reputation of its editors, it is needless to speak; for the paper is read by many, and the labours of those who conduct it are known and highly valued by every intelligent lover of liberty and light. It is not easy, in this day of reading, to measure the influence of the press; and the fact that in our city a weekly sheet is printed and circulated, devoted to the dissemination of Anti-Slavery truth, cannot but have a powerful influence on the public mind. We hope for a long continuance of the North Star in our midst, and an increase of its circulation and influence. At the commencement of the year, we also resolved to open an Anti-Slavery Office and Reading Room, in which an agent should be employed to correspond with persons in different sections of the State, attend to the management of the office, and raise funds for its support and for the Society. A pleasant room was leased for a year in the most central part of the city. By soliciting the citizens, a sum was raised sufficient to furnish desks, table, show-case; and a carpet was purchased by the Ladies' Society, thus making the room attractive in its furnishings. A good supply of newspapers from the exchange list of the North Star, comprising most of the Anti-Slavery and reformatory papers in the country, and many able political and religious papers, was placed in the room, conveniently arranged, and open for all to read free of expense. An assortment of Anti-Slavery books was also purchased, the sale of which it was hoped might spread much information and be a means of helping to support the office. As this was the only free Reading Room in the city, it was expected that it would become a place of resort, and thus a means of light and usefulness. The fact that it has been visited by but few, is a sad proof of the little desire for information on the part of the community.—Catharine A. F. Stebbins was employed as agent for three months, and on the 15th of June, when her term of service expired, Sarah C. Owen was engaged, and has since been employed. Both these agents have made efforts to awaken interest, obtain funds, and keep the public aware of the advantages freely open to all who chose to avail themselves of them; but their success has not been such as to afford great encouragement for the continuance of the office.

The dissemination of radical Anti-Slavery views for the past few months, has been hindered by the fierce excitement of a Presidential campaign—one of those periodical contests in which conscience is disregarded, right trampled under foot, and profligate mendacity, cunning trickery, and bold, bad acts, for which the very perpetrators blush in their calmer moments, stifle for the time the better nature of the people, and close every ear to appeals of the slave. And yet in the election which has just been decided, the clear eye of the Abolitionist can read evidences, plain as the noon-day sun, that the Anti-Slavery question is reaching the nation's heart, and becoming *the question* which shall swallow up all minor ones, as the rod of Aaron did the rods of the magicians of Pharaoh in the story of olden time.

The candidate of one great party was a slaveholder, a warrior grown grey in the camp and on the plantation, wedded to Slavery by every conceivable tie of birth, fortune and education; and yet his supporters have tried (and successfully too) to make Northern men believe that he is willing to leave in the hands of Congress, to be disposed of as they may please, a plan to limit a system which can only live by constant extension, and which, if once stopped in its career, must decay and perish, when, by a stroke of his pen, he could put a veto on freedom's demands and give Slavery a longer time of life and power! As the candidate of the Democratic party, a man has been held up who has done all possible to wipe away the dishonour of being born on Free soil, by pledging himself to do the will of the slaveocracy; and yet his adherents have been forced to try to make the people believe that he is not an enemy to the cause of freedom.

We have seen, too, a new party spring up,—not an Anti-Slavery party, but yet the offspring of the Anti-Slavery agitation—a party opposed not to the existence or even the Constitutional support of Slavery, but simply to its extension, and in the very first year of its existence numbering its adherents by the hundred thousands. Far as the friends of the Free Soil movement are from standing on what seems to us true ground, yet when we remember where many of them have been heretofore, we rejoice that they have taken one step, and trust that the same spirit which leads them to be opposed to Slavery in Mexico, may lead them to oppose it in Virginia—that the sense they have of it in new and distant teritories, may lead them ere long to refuse to support it in the older States—to say that the watch and ward of Northern bayonet shall not hedge round the Southern plantation—that the District of Columbia shall be free—that to every slaveholder on every plantation in this slave-cursed land, their word may be.

"From being slaves or making slaves,
In God's name we protest."

In all these things, and others which might be named, every steadfast Abolitionist sees that the words of truth scattered by the wayside are not lost, and is reminded that the end is not yet, that he should be firm and true to the high uncompromising ground of right, and that when the struggle comes, as come it must, which shall shake this land as with the rush of the whirlwind, he shall say, "No union with slaveholders," either in the glittering gold mines of California or the wasting plantations of the old Dominion—"No Compromise with slaveholders," either in the beautiful valleys of Mexico or on the banks of the majestic Mississippi.

In behalf of the executive Committee.
G. B. STEBBINS, Cor. Sec.

The following list of officers were appointed for the ensuing year:

President—BENJAMIN FISH, Rochester.
Vice-Presidents—ROSWELL G. MURRAY, SUSAN R. DOTY, Farmington.
Corresponding Secretary—GILES B. STEBBINS
Recording Secretary—WILLIAM C. NELL.
Treasurer—EDMUND P. WILLIS.

Executive Committee.

William R. Hallowell,	Rochester.
Abigail Bush,	"
Isaac Post,	"
Sarah L. Hallowell,	"
Amy Post,	"
Lewis Burtis,	"
Henry Bush,	"
Mary L. Hallowell,	"
Frederick Douglass,	"
Sarah A. Burtis,	"
Laura Murray,	"
John Dick,	"
Dorcas Collins,	"
Lemira Kedzie,	"
Sarah C. Owen,	"
Asa Anthony,	"
John Kedzie,	"
Henry Collins,	"
Sarah D. Fish,	"
Huldah Anthony,	"
Richard Sully,	"
Catharine A. F. Stebbins,	"
Louisa Grace,	"
Joseph C. Hathaway.	Farmington.
Esick Wilbur,	"
Elias Doty,	"
Caroline Halstead,	"
Calvin Campbell,	Henrietta.
Martin Roberts,	"
James Sperry,	"
D. C. Ellis,	"
Sarah Latting,	"
Elias De Garmo,	Gates.
Rhoda De Garmo,	"
Abner H. Francis,	Buffalo.
Thos. McClintock,	Waterloo.
Cassandra G. Hamblin,	Port Byron.
Mrs. Halsey,	"
E. W. Capron,	Auburn,
Pliny Sexton,	Palmyra
Wm. G. Barker,	Walworth.
George W. Clark,	Victor
Griffith M. Cooper,	Williamson.
Lucretia McIntyre	Darien.
Wm. Durbon,	"
Elias L. Platt,	Bath.
Henrietta Platt,	"

The following resolutions were submitted by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That slaveholding is a sin against God; it annihilates all the essential relations which contribute to make life desirable, and society beneficial: and therefore enjoins upon every Christian and philanthropist the duty to lend their direct and untiring exertions for its speedy overthrow.

2. Resolved, That the age in which we live, is an age of progressive reform; and that all ministers, laymen, legislators, or private citizens, who disregard its requirements so far as to close their mouths and stop their ears against the cries of the oppressed, are guilty of conniving at the flagrant injustice, unworthy the stations they occupy, and traitors to the race of man.

3. Resolved, That God is a God of justice; and human reason and every-day experience are fully demonstrating the fact, that his justice will be meted out upon this guilty nation for her sins of commission and omission, with regard to three million's of her subjects, unless she speedily repents and lets the oppressed go free.

4. Resolved, That in the various relations of life which we sustain to our fellow citizens, we acknowledge too little attention has been given to our identity with our coloured citizens, believing that upon it and their exertions depend the success of emancipation.

4. Resolved, That while we hail with joy every evidence of progress on the part of those who have heretofore been hostile to the Anti-Slavery movement, we regard the Free Soil Platform as an unwarrantable compromise of the principles of human liberty, and believe that Abolitionists are loudly called upon not only to advocate the immediate emancipation of every slave on the American soil, but also to refrain from the performance of any act which gives sanction or countenance to the existence of Slavery anywhere for a single hour.

6. Resolved, That in the language of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and concurred in by the Liberty League Convention in June last, that the slaveholder, as such, has no rights, and that slaveholding laws are no laws—that the one is but a pirate, and the other but the bloody code of his bloodiest piracy; and that every constitution, or compact, or religion, which justifies this pirate, or upholds his piracy, merits nothing better than the utmost contempt and the deepest execration.

7. Resolved, That in view of the obstacles removed—the rapid spread of Anti-Slavery sentiment among the people—the readiness with which men proclaim themselves opposed to Slavery—the extensive discussion of the subject—the freedom of speech tolerated in Congress, and the growing respect with which Anti-Slavery petitions are treated—the friends of the slave have great cause to thank God and take courage for the future.

8. Whereas, The real design of this Government in attaching Cuba to the United States, is for the purpose of propagating Slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That we are opposed to the annexation of Cuba, unless it shall be free territory, and pledged to remain so.

9. Resolved, That the church and clergy, which wield a vast and unyielding influence, and that influence being on the side of oppression, by holding fellowship with those who make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men, deserve the scathing rebuke of all lovers of humanity.

10. Resolved, That the prejudice against colour is unnatural; were it not, the Author of our being would have made us all of one hue; therefore, it is the duty of the friends of humanity to labour with untiring zeal for the overthrow of every law which deprives the coloured American of one right enjoyed by those of a paler complexion.

11. Resolved, That it is the duty of every coloured man of the State of New York to spurn with indignation the offer of voting under its Constitution for the price of two hundred and fifty dollars.

Resolved, That we feel ourselves justly rebuked for the shameless custom of excluding coloured children from our schools and seminaries of learning, by the resolutions of the English Friends, and the presents which they have kindly sent to the misses who defended the rights of the daughter of our respected fellow-citizen, Frederick Douglass, to the privileges of Seward Seminary, from which she was excluded by the teacher, Miss Tracy, on account of her complexion; and we are happy to add that but one patron voted for the proscription.

Whereas, actions speak louder than words—that within the representative may be seen the character of the constituency—that no people are better than their laws or their law-makers—that a stream cannot rise higher than its source—that a sweet fountain cannot send forth a bitter stream—that a good tree cannot bear evil fruit; therefore,

Resolved, That the election of a warrior, slaveholder, and bloodhound importer, to the highest office in this country, proves that the vast majority of the American people are at heart slaveholders, slavetraders and bloodhound importers, and only need to be placed in circumstances favourable to slaveholding and slavetrading to become slaveholders and slavetraders

By JOHN DICK—Resolved, That whatever evils exist in the present day, and whatever reforms may be agitated, perhaps good, and likely to be productive of the best results, yet, as Slavery, is the great sin and damning curse of this nation, *that* reform is the reform which, of all others demands the first place in the efforts of reformers—without which, all other reforms will be valueless.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society be and hereby are presented to the ladies in England, Scotland and Ireland, who have given most unmistakeable evidence of their interest in the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden in this land, by their valuable contributions to the Anti-Slavery Bazaar just held in this city.

By FREDERICK DOUGLASS—Whereas, The Constitution of the United States, by providing for the slavetrade for twenty years, a slave representation in Congress, by putting down slave insurrections and the return of fugitive slaves, is a Constitution against liberty, in favour of Slavery, and such an instrument as no man who believes Slavery to be a sin can consistently support; therefore,

Resolved, That the only way by which we can free ourselves from the guilt of Slavery is to stand on the ground of "No Union with Slaveholders."

By DR. CHASE, of Cleveland, Ohio—

Resolved, That every effort made by the citizens of the South for emancipation of their slaves, should be hailed with feelings of heartfelt satisfaction.

Resolved, That Congress should exercise all its rightful power to wipe the continuance of Slavery from our national banner.

Resolved, That we deeply deplore the fact, that other nations are, and must be compelled to regard our professions of love of liberty superlatively selfish, while we perpetrate the worst form of African Slavery in our midst.

By DANIEL POUND—Resolved, That petitions be extensively circulated for signatures, requesting the Legislature of this State to instruct our Senators in Congress to use their influence to have all laws in the District of Columbia abolished, which tolerate Slavery and the slavetrade; and in case of failure, to urge the removal of the seat of Government to a Free State.

By GILES B. STEBBINS—Whereas, the North Star is established in this city, conducted with ability and fidelity and owing to the fact that it is circulated in this vicinity, is the organ through which we usually make known our appointments and places to our friends; therefore,

Resolved, That while we would not discourage Abolitionists from subscribing for other able and uncompromising Anti-Slavery newspapers, we wish to urge upon all the importance of subscribing for and aiding to support the North Star—that we rejoice that it has lived successfully through the first, the trying year of its existence, and bids fair to be sustained, if the same earnest efforts are made in future which have thus far sustained it.

By WM. C. NELL—Whereas, The Anti-Slavery cause has been promoted by various instrumentalities—petitioning national and local Legislatures—the eloquent appeals of a galaxy of lecturers—the potent influence of a free press, and the example of true words and deeds in the intercourse of every-day life; but to no two "ways and means" is the enterprise more indebted for its present advanced position, than to the Fairs conducted by Anti-Slavery women, and the expression of liberty inspiring sentiments through the popular medium of song; therefore,

Resolved, That we tender our sincere thanks to the untiring and devoted Anti-Slavery women of Western New York, whose contributions of genius and industry at the recent and previous Bazaars, are indeed noble offerings upon freedom's altar.

Resolved, That to George W. Clark, the liberty vocalist, we would also present our tribute of gratitude, and hope that his muse will continue to be successfully invoked, until he can unite with the emancipated bondman of America in the song of universal freedom.

The resolutions from the Business Committee, as also those offered by individuals were ably and eloquently discussed.

General Taylor's election to the Presidency—the Pro Slavery character of the United States Constitution—the American church and clergy as allied against freedom—the unholy prejudice existing towards coloured citizens—the Free Soil movement, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, were the most prominent themes of debate, each in turn eliciting a manifest interest from the large gathering who, (despite the inclement weather) were in attendance at several sessions.

Joseph C. Hathaway aimed to impress upon the audience that God's justice would soon be meted out to this guilty nation; that the wages of sin is death, the penalty must follow a violation of right. "Where, I ask, is Northern liberty to-day? Prostrate at the feet of the slave power, exemplified in the elevation of Zachary Taylor as President of the nation. I ask, what has eaten up Northern manhood—shrivelled up Northern honour? What else has substituted injustice for justice over the length and breadth of the land, but the slave power? Are not these judgments inflicted for a people's departure from the right?"

Abner H. Francis referred to the history of nations in proof that the evil-doer would be punished, and asked, if thus impressed, he could have so little confidence in God as to doubt the fulfilment of his prophecy, or that judgments awaited this guilty country for its wrongs to the slave, and to those nominally termed free coloured Americans, the proscription of which latter class in their own native land, he believed was in many respects a more grievous infliction than that experienced by the slave. The resolution calling upon Abolitionists to identify themselves with the coloured American, was spoken of by several.

William C. Nell narrated some incidents of his own experience, where, when subjected to colourphobia persecution, prominent Abolitionists had "shown their colours," defended his rights, and on some occasions even shared with him the indignities of a Jim Crow car, which not only made good their claim to the name of Abolitionist, but had the best effect upon lookers on.

Wm. G. Barker had been taught by his mother to treat coloured persons as he would others. He believed that parents, by commencing at home to inculcate the principles of equality, would be laying a foundation for the regeneration of society.

George W. Clark, E. W. Capron and Richard Sully, concurred in the expression that they had no such prejudice, but were happy to accord to coloured friends the same in social life as to others.

Giles B. Stebbins remarked that there was no cause for wonder that coloured persons themselves would shrink from opportunities oft-times cheerfully accorded, when it was remembered what their treatment had been at the hands of the whites, reminding him of a fugitive slave he had once assisted, who, on being asked if he had any white blood in his veins, replied, "No, thank God!"

Frederick Douglass "had some words in behalf of both white and coloured persons," urging upon them always to treat man as man, irrespective of complexion.

Dr. Chase, of Cleveland, defended, at some length and with much ability, the United States Constitution from being pro-slavery, and was replied to by Frederick Douglass; but as so much pro and con has been already submitted, the details of the discussion can perhaps be waived without disparaging the merits of either participant.

Milo D. Codding presented his views of the Wilmot Proviso, believing that its enforcement would materially aid in annihilating Slavery. J. C. Hathaway and Frederick Douglass accorded to it all the merit they could discover, but deemed it far short of what the emergency demanded, or that Abolitionists should be satisfied with.

The resolution denouncing the recent Presidential election as a true index of the pro-slavery character of the American heart, was most eloquently supported by Frederick Douglass. He defined a slaveholder to be one who had no moral objection to Slavery. Those who had elected General Taylor, a known slaveholder, had thus practically said to the slaves, We give reputation to the man who plunders your rights, and ploughs your back with the lash. They had the power to reject, but instead thereof, awarded their suffrages to the candidate whose only qualifications were his skill in butchering Mexicans and his unwavering fidelity to the bloody code of Slavery. The entire speech was replete with lofty sentiment, bold denunciation, illustrated by most apposite figures, and called forth many demonstrations of approval from the meeting. But, to be properly appreciated, the speech should have been heard.

The resolutions, after being discussed by the above named speakers, Daniel Pound Lewis Burtis, Benjamin Fish, Benjamin Price and others, were adopted by the meeting.

George W. Clark blended, at appropriate intervals, his songs of freedom with most happy effect.

A vote of thanks to the proprietors of Concert Hall for their courtesy, was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

BENJAMIN FISH, President.
WILLIAM C. NELL, Secretary.

The following letter was given in reply to questions put to Mr. Owen, by the Democratic members of the Legislature of Indiana. Mr. Owen being a candidate with Judge Whitcomb and Edward A. Hannegan, for Senator in Congress. Judge Whitcomb was elected.

From the Indiana Sentinel.

INDIANAPOLIS, December 9, 1848.

GENTLEMEN—Your letter of this date, requesting my opinion, as to the Constitutional power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the territories of the United States, and as to the expediency of exercising that power in the case of New Mexico and California, has been received.

Congress, in my opinion, possesses the power to legislate on the subject of Slavery in the territories, throughout the term of their territorial existence; as, for example, to enact, in regard to our Mexican acquisitions, a prohibitory proviso, similar to the Ordinance of 1787. The exercise of that power, and the form in which it can most wisely be exercised, I consider questions of expediency only.

Upon that great principle (the chief safeguard of a confederate republic like ours) that the province of federal legislation should, as much as possible, be restricted, I think the power in question should not be exercised, except where it is clearly needful, and practically important, that it should be.

The doctrine that California and New Mexico are, in fact and in law, free territories, is now generally admitted throughout the North. If it were as generally admitted by the South, I should consider it inexpedient for Congress to act, in any manner whatever, on the subject; since no enactment can make these territories more free than they are.

But it is well known, that distinguished Southern statesmen have denied this doctrine; and, at this day, assert that slaveholders may settle, and retain their slaves, in these territories. Such assertions are not unlikely to deceive, and may cause slaveholders, in some cases, rashly to risk the legal issue. To avert a contingency like this, fraught with many evils, it is not necessary that Congress should enact a prohibition or alter any law; it suffices, that, for the government of all concerned, it declare what the law is.

Such declaratory enactments have been usual by the Parliament of Great Britain, by the Congress of the United States, and by our State Legislatures.

If there were no excited feeling on the subject in the South, it would be of little practical importance, whether Congress enacted a prohibitory law, or passed a declaratory resolution; though, even in that case, the latter would be the appropriate form. The Ordinance of 1787, the original of the Wilmot Proviso, was properly applied to the Northwestern territory; which, being a cession from Virginia, a Slave State, was slave territory. Without it that territory would have remained slave, would doubtless have been settled in part by slaveholders, and thus the State in which we now live might, not improbably, have applied for admission as a Slave State. Not so with New Mexico and California. Ceded to us by a free country, they are legally free. Within their bounds we have not to extirpate Slavery; we have only to declare that it has no existence there.

All the practical advantages which could be obtained by a Wilmot Proviso, result also from a declaratory resolution. He who will not heed the one will assuredly disregard the other.

And, while the benefits are equal, the first is sure to produce, as its agitation has already produced and is producing, exasperation, sectional heart-burnings, and a state of feeling, which, if it do not endanger the Union, may result, as the Missouri excitement did, in a compromise which the friends of freedom would deprecate and regret—while the other assumes a form and manner the least offensive to the South; changing no statute, encroaching on no rights; an announcement only of that which the most eminent jurists, on both sides of the Atlantic, have concurred in declaring to be existing law.

And thus, that diversity in form of enactment, which, under other circumstances, might hardly be worth a serious thought—that which, in itself, might seem an unimportant variance—becomes a point of difference important and portentous, over which opposing portions of the Union contend, which a bitterness of feeling and an intensity of sectional jealousy, threatening the worst results, and which all wise statesmen and good citizens must desire to quiet and allay.

There is another important point in this case. Those who are familiar with public opinion in Congress know that an attempt to pass a Wilmot Proviso through the Senate, at the present time, would inevitably result in defeat; and that there is little chance of a different result, at least for several years to come; while there is a probability that a joint resolution declaratory of the law could be carried in both branches. Such Southern men as Mr. Stephens of Georgia, would strain every nerve to defeat the one; but could not consistently with the arguments they have already made on the floor of Congress, vote against the other; nor, indeed, against this latter would any well-read member of the bar, having regard to his professional reputation, be likely to record his vote.

But if the Wilmot Proviso be pressed in the Senate and directly defeated, the probable effect would be to encourage slaveholders to risk their property in these new territories; and thus its introduction would aid in producing the very result it was intended to hinder.

For these reasons, if I had a seat in the Senate, I would not introduce a Wilmot Proviso applying to our Mexican possessions; and if it was introduced by others, I would vote to lay it on the table. As the Senate is now constituted, that motion would prevail. I would then vote for, if introduced by others, (or, if not, would myself introduce) a joint resolution declaring that, by the law of the land and of nations, California and New Mexico, including Santa Fe and the valley of the upper Rio Grande, are free territories.

Further, in a bill organizing these territories I would vote for, or introduce, a clause, prohibiting the territorial legislature from passing any enactment on the subject of Slavery. In such a bill I would also vote for a clause, providing for an appeal from the Territorial Courts to the Supreme Court of the United States, without any restriction as to the amount in controversy.

I need hardly add, that I would resist, by my votes and influence, any attempt, by positive legislation, to introduce Slavery into any portion of California or New Mexico, or into any other territory now free.

Such, in my opinion, is a course, on this subject accordant at once with the spirit of the age, with sound policy, and with that spirit of comity and good neighbourship, without which no confederated Union can maintain its integrity, and which the Father of his country solemnly warned us to cherish and preserve.

Such a course may not wholly gratify the pride of the North; it may not wholly allay the jealousy of the South; but it is a course firm and effective, yet conciliatory: and I most truly believe that it will gradually extort the approval, enlist the support, and unite the suffrages, of the moderate and reflecting in all sections of the country. It is, in my judgment, the stand which the West, the great mediator of the Union, ought to assume. I should consider it a fortunate circumstance of my life, if, as a Western Senator, I had an opportunity to maintain and enforce it.

The same opinions here expressed, both on the Constitutional power of Congress to legislate on Slavery, and also in regard to the legal freedom of California and New Mexico, were published by me, in the month of September, 1847. I am, gentlemen, respectfully, your fellow-citizen.

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

From the Weekly Republic.

THE PROGRESS OF FREEDOM.

If the opponents of human Slavery have seen the time that they despaired of witnessing its extinction, that time has evidently passed. The annexation of Texas, by the South, with a view of extending, perpetuating and strengthening the "peculiar institution," which the people of the North regarded with so much disfavour because of its evident design, has been the instrument, in the hands of an all wise Providence, to open the eyes of the freemen of the republic to the wickedness of southern Slavery, and to remove the props which have heretofore sustained it. Until the Slavery propagandists of the South boldly proclaimed their intention of annexing territory for the purpose of opening a new and profitable slave market to the slave breeders of the country, the question of Slavery was not agitated in the halls of Congress; but the grasping avarice of the slaveholders and their declared determination to wield the government of the country for their especial advantage, have aroused the people of the North to an investigation of the evils of Slavery, an investigation which can scarcely fail to result most disastrously to those whose interests are identified with its spread or existence. In this instance it may be well said that "ambition has o'erleaped itself." The gallows erected for freedom is destined to hold, between heaven and earth, the repulsive carcass of Slavery.

It is but a few years ago that the question of Slavery was not discussed in the halls of our national legislature. Even respectful petitions for its abolition in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had and has complete jurisdiction, were denied a hearing and thrust unceremoniously out of Congress. The individual who thought human Slavery an evil that should not be voluntarily tolerated by a free government, was told that he had no right to ask his representative to aid in its abolition. *The right of petition*, without which a representative government is but a mockery and a farce, *was boldly denied*, and those who advocated it, denounced as fanatics. Human Slavery, the buying and selling of live men and women, was an institution so sacred that freemen were not allowed to talk about it, or even to question the laws by which slaveholders strengthened and perpetuated it. No wonder that philanthropists were sick at heart at such a mockery of freedom and justice in the government of the country.

But these dark days have been followed by brighter and better ones. The blows have been given which will surely put an end to Slavery on this Continent. The discussions, which the aggressive spirit of southern Slavery has elicited, and for which the South is solely responsible, have so completely unmasked it, and so palpably placed before the American people its repulsive and abhorrent features that they will not be satisfied until the federal government relieves itself of all responsibility for the existence or continuance of Slavery wherever that government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on the subject. Confine Slavery to its present limits, prohibit the traffic of slaves in the District of Columbia and between the States of the Union, as Congress has the constitutional right to do, and how long will Slavery continue to exist?

We have said that the South is alone responsible for this agitation. Is it not so? In seeking to extend the "peculiar institution" and to augment its political power, it aroused the North and compelled the representatives of the Free States to oppose its pretensions. The introduction of the Wilmot Proviso was forced upon the North by the aggressions of the slave power, and was the initiatory step in the great movement of hostility to Slavery. Its re-introduction by PRESTON KING, the well-known friend and confident of the lamented WRIGHT, and its prominent advocacy by the radical democracy of New York, gave a wider range to the discussion of the evils of Slavery and permanently laid the foundation of a party which was to recognize and enforce, as the cardinal article of its creed, opposition to its extension over another inch of territory, ultimately resulting in the great assemblage of freemen in this city, which nationalized the movement and prepared the South, as well as the North, for the contest which was to follow between Freedom and Slavery in Congress.

Since then what have been the triumphs of the free principle? Notwithstanding the desperate efforts of both the old political organizations, the friends of human freedom polled three hundred thousand votes in the Union—a number equal to the whole number of slaveholders. On the heels of this vote; a succession of events, most gratifying and encouraging to the opponents of Slavery, have rapidly followed in the halls of Congress. Under the instruction of the House, CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana, has reported a bill for the territorial organization of California, by which the ordinance of 1787 is adopted, and Slavery forever excluded. The vote of instruction stood 107 to 80. Mr. PALFREY's bill to repeal all the slave laws of the District of Columbia was only defeated by 16 votes. But more remarkable and surprising, perhaps more promising than all was the vote—79 ayes to 105 nays—on Mr. GIDDINGS' bill to give to the people of the District, without distinction of colour, the privilege of expressing their sentiments upon the slave system among them. Following this was Mr. GOTT's bill to abolish the slave traffic of the District, which passed the House, as our readers know, by a majority of 11 votes—98 ayes to 87 noes. Of these four assaults upon Slavery two have been completely successful, while the results of the other two are quite as significant of its fate.

But while these things have been transpiring in the House of Representatives, the action of the Senate has not been without its encouraging indications to the friends of the Free Soil principle. The attempt of Mr. CALHOUN to suppress the petition of the New Mexicans, containing a remonstrance against the introduction of Slavery among them, was put down by the decisive vote of 33 to 14. But more gratifying than all was the noble stand taken by the "great Missourian"—a stand which promises every thing to the cause of human freedom. Who can doubt the adoption of the Free Soil principle in the Senate, when the bold and uncompromising BENTON becomes its advocate?

These are the triumphs which the mad and reckless spirit of Slavery propagandism has invoked by its aggressions and its outrages. Let no slaveholder or doughface flatter

Resolved, That if such a law be suffered to go into operation sooner than twelve months after its passage, few publications could survive its effects; because it would oblige the publishers, without any *available* re course upon their subscribers, to pay a postage which, at the rates recommended by the Postmaster General, would in most cases amount to one half the price of subscription.

Resolved, That the privilege now granted to the publishers of newspapers to send their bills to subscribers in their numbers, should be extended to publishers of periodicals.

Resolved, That a free exchange should be allowed not only between the publishers of periodicals, but also between *them* and the publishers of newspapers.

Resolved, That by a recent investigation, it has been ascertained that the aggregate yearly circulation of periodicals in the city of New York alone amounts to six million nine hundred and seventy thousand and seventy four copies—nearly SEVEN MILLIONS; and that the interests of so extensive a branch of industry as the publishing of this enormous amount of reading MATERIAL should not be lost sight of in the Legislation of our country.

Resolved, That a memorial be prepared, setting forth the facts and suggestions contained in the foregoing resolutions, and that the same be printed and a copy sent to each member of Congress, at an early day.

Resolved, That Leonard Scott, W. H. Bidwell and Freeman Hunt, be appointed a committee to prepare such memorial.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1849.

There is no need of any speculation as to the course which the Whigs, as Whigs, will take in regard to the measures in which the question of Slavery is involved. The result of the late Presidential election defines their position. After the bargain by which they gained the victory, there is no more free agency left them than the Constitution left to the Northern States when the compromises were once assented to. They have placed themselves in a disgraceful dilemma, and have only a choice of treacheries offered them. They must either betray Party or Man. In such a position men are apt to be decided in their course by the nearness and appreciability of the retribution which is to follow, or by the chances of tangible reward. If the Whigs act up to their Northern professions, the immediate disruption of the party will be the sure result. As opposition may combine a great many discordant political elements and various shades of opinion, but a triumphant party can only reap the fruits of victory by compactness and the sacrifice of individual interests to the imperative necessity of union.

Some moralists have asserted that men are to be judged rather by their intentions and professions, than by their deeds. No doubt many Northern Whig politicians, during the late campaign, believed themselves to be sincere haters of Slavery. It was pleasant to utter humane and generous sentiments, especially as the people seemed to like them and the thing could be done upon credit. As long as votes could be purchased by mere promises to pay, the signing of a name gave very little trouble. Warmed with the enthusiasm of the occasion, they were willing to give notes to any amount.

But the day of payment for all promises arrives sooner or later. Even those which ardent and inspired youth makes in solitude and silence, manhood will publicly demand the fulfilment of, and the pleading of infancy infects all the rest of life with a suspicion as well as a self-consciousness of insolvency. The Whig notes, however, had too short a time to run. They must be taken up within a fearfully limited period. If there were a Notary Public to witness their protest for non-payment, his fees would amount to a handsome fortune. Payment might be avoided by pleading infancy, duress, or an immoral consideration, but we rather think that the more compendious method of bankruptcy will be adopted. The capital of the old firm will somehow be juggled into the hands of the new concern of Taylor & Company, which will deny any legal or moral accountability to the creditors.

We think that the Whig Party has overreached itself. It has gained a momentary advantage at the cost of its existence. As far as party action is concerned, it has done its best to strike a deadly blow, not only at the cause of humanity, but at every kind of principle. It has been hypocritical and perfidious in its inhumanity. But the mask is slipping aside more and more from the pro-slavery face, or rather it is being discovered that its real face was turned southward, while an Anti-Slavery vizard on the back of the head was made to answer for the North. Already are the directors of the party beginning to stone their prophets, men like Palfrey and Giddings, whom they have hitherto put prominently forward as lures for Northern and Western Anti-Slavery aid.

All through the last campaign, the Whig presses were finding fault with Mr. Van Buren for not being Anti-Slavery enough. We have no controversy with them on that score, though the requirements of a party which could be satisfied with the owner of two hundred slaves could not be very great. But these zealots, these out and out Abolitionists (for the nonce) had their doubts whether Mr. Van Buren were in favour of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia. His own assertion was not enough to satisfy them. But there is no variability of temperature so great, and no changes of temperature so sudden as those indicated by a meteorological journal of politics in the Free States. For the two months preceding the third Tuesday in November, the weathercocks point steadily northward, and the atmosphe is clear and bracing. But on Wednesday the win shifts to an opposite point of the compass and a southerly fog creeps gradually up, whose effects on northern constitutions are exceedingly debilitating. Men of all professons (but especially Anti-Slavery ones) are subject to the most alarming and fatal attacks, and disappear from the community without a line of obituary.

Not two months have passed since the Whig leaders were clamorous, because the Free Soil party had stolen their platform, which means something to stand upon before election, and to trample on after. Heine says somewhere, that Tieck was a good satirist, but that the *progress of events* was more bitterly satirical than he. We need no severer Juvenal here. Mr. Giddings introduces a bill to take the sense of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia in regard to emancipation. He very properly bases his resolution on the principle which was the fulcrum of our Revolution, and which forms the corner stone of our system of policy, that all government is founded on the consent of the governed. He accordingly proposes that the vote of every male inhabitant of twenty-one years and upward shall be taken. It was not only just, but peculiarly proper that his motion should take this shape, for it has somehow got to be the opinion in America that the slaveholders are the suffering party, who alone are entitled to our commiseration and to a voice in the question of Abolition. It was, therefore, wise and expedient in Mr. Giddings to frame his motion as he did. It is the slave who is the chief party in interest. Yet for this, Mr. Giddings is denounced by high Whig authority, as a demagogue, whose only object is to exasperate the South. On the same principle, the Declaration of Independence should have confined itself to a consideration of the rights and injuries of George the Third. Mr. Giddings's error arose from a want of due attention to chronological proprieties. He should have been aware that principles are entirely dependent upon times and seasons, and that his motion should have been made before election. The flood-tide of party Anti-Slavery takes place every fourth November, and rises as rapidly as in the Bay of Fundy. The ebb is equally sudden.

So, too, in regard to the Wilmot Proviso. This was so popular with northern Whigs a few weeks ago that Mr. Webster took pains to claim it as "his thunder." He is probably sorry by this time that he ever burned his fingers *with it*. In the debate on the petition of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (February 12, 1790), Mr. Madison said that "they might make some regulations respecting the introduction of them (slaves) into the new States to be formed out of the Western Territory, different from what they could in the old settled States. He thought the object well worthy of consideration." This is the doctrine of reason and common sense, as well as of justice and humanity. Before the election, this was clear enough to Whig eyes. But it seems pretty certainly determined that the bill of Senator Douglass, which yields everything to Slavery, will receive enough Whig support in Congress to ensure its success. We believe that a majority of the Whig rank and file are in favour of the Wilmot Proviso. But the misfortune is that it is in the power of a few Truman Smiths in Congress to control for a moment the destinies of the country. It takes only a moment to commit a great wrong, but it may require centuries to repair it. The Missouri Compromise [the second downward step of the Republic] was controlled by the vote of one man from Massachusetts.

We said that the Whig Party had overreached itself. The Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country is fast strengthening into Anti-Slavery principle. It is not a thing which can be used and thrown by. Wise political leaders would have seen that its gains are permanent, and that its recruits are enlisted for the whole war. But the Whigs have no positive principle to give them cohesion. Skilful only in the tactics of opposition, they find it impossible to take an affirmative stand. The movement, not of America only, but of the whole world is onward. They are the destructives who endeavour to hold back. True conservatism employs itself in preparing a smooth way for the inevitable future.

> Safe to its breast the new moon clasps the old
> And round it still its guardian arms doth fold,
> Forever turning fuller to the sun,
> Until increase of light hath made them one.
>
> J. R. L.

A True Minister of the Gospel.

We have had laid aside for publication for several weeks a brief report, made in the *Newburyport Trumpet*, of a sermon delivered on Thanksgiving day, by the Rev. T. W. Higginson, the Unitarian clergyman in that town; nor are we willing to omit it, though it has been already copied somewhat extensively. Truth, however, is never old.—Heaven knows, we cannot pick it up so plentifully in the American press and pulpit, that we can afford to pass it by unheeded when it comes to us in such plain, strong words, as those of Mr. Higginson. Not that the preacher would expect, or ought to have any large share of praise when his words are measured by the Christian standard of duty which should govern the minister of the Gospel; but when we consider the popular standard whereby our ministers measure themselves, and remember that Mr. Higginson is now in his first pulpit, and at the outset of his career, commenced only a few months ago; that the loss of place may be the loss of bread; and that the community in which he resides is eminently distinguished for its Pro-slavery spirit, having just elected to represent it in the Massachusetts General Court, George Lunt and Caleb Cushing; then far more than the usual meed of praise is due to the man who, under such circumstances, could speak so boldly and truthfully to such a people.

Another Presidential election has just passed. The plans I spoke of long since (a year ago last August, you remember,) as being then made to place yet another slaveholding President at the head of this nominally free Republic, have been developed, consummated, and carried through; carried through with the consent, the approbation, nay, the enthusiasm, of a majority of you. If the fact seemed to me important enough to allude to *then*, when I was here as an occasional preacher, and had no ties with you, you can hardly think it strange if I hold it enough so to speak of now, when the majority of you have defined your position on it, and that position so widely different (as you know) from mine.

Do not complain of me for introducing this subject again, now that the election is past. There are peculiar reasons for introducing it now. That large majority of you, who belong to the Whig party, have wholly changed your position, since the election. The points which complicated the question before, are left behind now; the question is not now whether a choice of evils should be avoided; not whether a third party was practicable; nor whether Mr. Van Buren was a fit leader of that party—these *were* points which complicated the question before—Whig speakers dwelt chiefly on them—but they are gone now. For do you not see that by your *expressions of delight at the result of the election*, you have voluntarily foregone all the defence you had when you candidly lamented for the "necessary evil." Do you not see that your very first cheer for President Taylor renounced that plea forever—*accepted him as a good*—and thus identified your position with his—so as to endorse him as a fit President for you before God and man? The question is not now whether it was your duty to oppose when you thought opposition fruitless; you have not only not opposed, but going to the other extreme, you have accepted the triumph as your triumph, and rejoiced over it; and for that are you now to be held accountable. The facts of his election were before you, and you all knew or might have known them. You knew that he was first brought forward by ultra-slavery men, avowedly as the ultra slavery candidate—that ultra slavery men carried him through the Convention, in opposition to the demand of the North, and then threw the Wilmot Proviso on the floor. You know that the ultra-slavery men of the South electioneered and chose him on this ground—bargaining, however, for as many Northern votes as they wanted. You knew that he was a man professedly of not the smallest political knowledge, a mere warrior, a mere slaveholder, and never could have been nominated or chosen but by this ultra slavery influence. You knew all this, or ought to have known it, and when the time came, and this so humiliating final stroke of the Slave power triumphed, you accepted it as your triumph, and illuminated your houses!

And why did you triumph? Why did the North or any part of it feel this joy? Other reasons may have mingled, but I do from my soul believe, blush as I may to say it, that this one great reason stood, and forever will stand in history, underlying all, overtopping all *this*, that Slavery or no Slavery, consistency or inconsistency, honour or dishonour, that spirit in the Northern people which "lives by bread alone," had secured its PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Protection! That is the too fascinating word which has taken its turn this year and paralyzed the conscience and heart of New England, as a miscalled patriotism did last year. There is no intrinsic harm in "Protection," as there is nothing intrinsically wrong in "Bread." But when protection means help to me, gained by the sacrifice of honour, the sacrifice of pledges, the sacrifice of the rights of Freedom and of the slave; when it means, my dividends increased, by my consent being given to the proportionate increase of Slave territory; when *this* is the meaning of that omnipotent word; then I say *from such Protection God protect us!* For we need to be protected against earthly blessings which gain so utter a triumph over our souls. We need to be protected from the condition which "lives by bread alone," and to which all things else are a visionary dread.

A year ago, many of you were indignant at the course pursued by the Democratic party, in regard to the war. You called it base and wicked, and so it was. You said they shut their eyes to plain facts, took back their own words, were indifferent to honour, justice, and humanity, and voluntarily consented to extend the area of Slavery. But if it was base and wicked to do this—as they did—to make these sacrifices because carried away by enthusiasm for the blood-stained glory of war, by the childish love of renown, by the contemptible pride of brute force—tell me how you christen it, when precisely these self-same things to-day are done only under different circumstances, and more glaringly by the other party—from the enthusiasm, not for renown, not for force, but for—*a Protective Tariff!*

Do you doubt these things? They are easy of proof. The dust of conflict and the smoke of victory may hide them now, but history will record them with terrific plainness. I think no one, even now, who took much part in the canvass in this State, can doubt that it was that terrible "bread alone" which carried the day. Other things were freely agitated—they would do to talk about—they would do to salve men's consciences—impracticability of a third party—objection to Mr. Van Buren—choice of evils—these would do to help out those who hated to acknowledge the base reality; but a reality it was, none the less. A few thorough-going men might stand for party, merely as party, through everything; a few unthinking men might be sincerely convinced by shallow newspaper arguments, and shallower demagogue declamations, that General Taylor was a second Washington, and that the buyer of 300 slaves was on the whole an Anti-Slavery candidate; and in many minds these things come in secondarily to palliate the deep wrongfulness of the act; still the deep wrongfulness remained, and it was that simple, overwhelming *Tariff*, firstly and lastly, upon which the conscience of the North found shipwreck.

Thus much for the motive, and as for the act it is so old a story that I am weary of telling it. A generation hence, and it will be acknowledged by all. A party professing to be Anti-Slavery and anti-war, has elected to the Presidency one who never could have been chosen, had he not been both a slaveholder and a warrior. Never was there a political triumph in history more curiously thorough in its completeness than that of the slave power over the Whig party. Think of it once again. General Taylor, nominated at first enthusiastically at the South by conventions of all parties, solely on the ultra-slavery ground—those very conventions (as in Georgia) applauding the conduct of Mr. Calhoun and his friends—supported enthusiastically by leading Southern men from both parties, on this ground and NO OTHER; first urged in the Whig convention by ultra-slavery men, to the exclusion of all the old leaders; receiving at the first ballot 82 out of 110 slaveholding votes; and only 27 out of 166 Free State votes; thus nominated and urged, he received the endorsement of that convention; who after nominating him *took no other position* except contemptuously to reject the Wilmot Proviso. This was his introduction to the freemen of the North; and never since then, in a single case, have his Southern friends taken any different position. There has been no attempt at concealment, conciliation, nor compromise. Not a Southern Whig ever urged him (at the South) mainly on any other ground, or shrunk from urging him on this. It was as "the star of the *South*" that he was unvaryingly supported; and the original inventor of the phrase explained it in the next sentence thus:—(I repeat it because we have accepted the phrase, and forgotten the explanation)—"I For by his express declaration, he will veto the Wilmot Proviso."—All that the opposite party could do (and it was a strong expression) to rival him in faithfulness to the full demands of the slave power, was done—and against a candidate pledged to the same veto—he yet felt to be more safely pledged, carried the popular vote of the slaveholding States by 20,000 majority—a gain upon the Whig candidates of 1844, himself a slaveholder, of not less than *sixty thousand votes*—though Mr. Polk himself did not stoop so low as Mr. Cass.

Here rests the case. I leave out of view all other considerations—my soul is weary of these degrading facts. Enough that, under these circumstances, led by these influences, we are entering on the *thirteenth* slaveholding administration, out of a total of sixteen. Meanwhile Slavery exists, with all its horrors—already the slave power turns upon us, and says, "you have chosen our candidate, knowing what we wanted him for, and now prepare to go on, and give us our new territory;" already is the new-born Anti-Slavery movement of the Northern Slave States beginning to pause at the prospect of a new slave market given by your compromise; the three millions of sufferers are destined to expand, perhaps, to four; and Massachusetts smiles on, secure in the possession of her tariff. Slavery, to her, is still a distant abstraction; Protection, "Bread alone," a present practical reality.

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God forbid that I should give only a dark picture, or do injustice to any. I feel very sure that this is "the darkest hour which just precedes the dawn." We could go no further in subserviency to the slave power, and the reaction has already come. It is seen in this grand uprising of the Free Soil movement, one based on a noble principle, (not perfectly satisfactory, for no movement is, but very noble,) and destined, under some form, to a sure triumph. But how can I speak to you of that, when scarce a dozen of you own to any sympathy with it?—Yet how far any individual of you is accountable for all this, I do not judge. I know the moral atmosphere in which we live, and how hard it is for individuals to change it or resist it. But wrong is wrong, none the less, and who is to say so, if not the preacher?

Governor's Message.

The New Governor—Hamilton Fish—of this State, was inaugurated on Monday of last week, and delivered the usual Message to the Senate and the Assembly in their organization on the same day. It is too long for our columns, but we copy that portion of it relative to the financial affairs of the State, and the closing passage which refers to the absorbing question of Slavery extension. This latter portion of his message the Governor sees fit to preface with a glorification of the feats of the American arms in the late foray with Mexico, after the usual manner of American State papers.

* * * * * *

The entire debt of the State at the close of the last fiscal year, and the annual amount of interest payable thereon, was as follows:

	Am't Int't.	Am't Debt.
General Fund Debt,	$336 044 85	$5,989 693 32
Canal Debt,	905,037 54	16,674,898 91
Canal Debt,		38,751 00
Total,	$1,241,082 39	$22,80° 343 23
In addition to this, there is a contingent liability of the State, arising from the loan of its credit to certain corporations, (which have hitherto paid the interest,) amounting to		$1,233,965 60
Making the entire outstanding debt, both direct and "contingent," on 30th Sept.		$23,938,248 83
There was on hand, on 30th Sept. last a surplus of the Canal Debt Sinking Fund, carried to the credit of the next fiscal year, available toward the payment of the above-mentioned debt, of	$115,953 40	
There was a deficiency in the General Fund Debt Sinking Fund of $1,108 97, which had been advanced from the revenues of the General Fund	1 008 97	
		$114,944 33
Making the total liability of the State, on the 30th Sept last, above the means on hand for its redemption		$23,822,304 40

The revenue of the State for the last fiscal year, was as follows:

I. General Fund. Surplus revenue the 30th Sept. 1848		$111,665 92
Permanent revenue, exclusive of the constitutional appropriations of $200,000 annually, from the surplus of the canal revenues	186,030 60	
State Tax	238,303 74	
Miscellaneous and temporary receipts	20,055 14	
Sundry receipts, for which previous advances had been made, or which were to be withdrawn subsequently from the Treasury	71,823 83	
		629,889 24
II. Canal Revenues. Tolls, including penalties, &c.	3,153,614 24	
Rent of surplus waters	3,354 14	
Interest on current canal revenue	47,101 78	
		3,204,707 16
Total revenue		$3,833,959 49
The payments out of the Canal Revenues above mentioned, amounting to		$3,204,070 16
were as follows:		
Expenses of collection, superintendence and ordinary repairs	$853,850 64	
Appropriated and set apart by article 7 of the Constitution—		
I. Toward the Canal Debt Sinking Fund	1,300,000 00	
II. Toward the General Fund Debt Sinking Fund	350,000 00	
III. To defray the necessary expenses of Government	200 000 00	
		2,705,850 64
Leaving the remainder of the revenues which sum is applicable to the completion of the Erie Canal enlargement, the Genesee Valley and the Black River Canals.		$498,219 52

* * * * * *

Among the consequences of the late war with Mexico has been the acquisition by the Government of the United States, of a large extent of new territory. I am sustained by the decisions of the highest judicial tribunal in the Union, in her opinion, that while the relations of the of the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory, with their former Government are dissolved, and new relations established between them and the Government of the United States, to whom their allegiance is now transferred, yet, that the laws which regulated the intercourse and general conduct of individuals within that territory at the time of the transfer, remain in force, until altered by the newly created power. Among the laws of Mexico in force, within this territory at the time of its acquisition, was one forever abolishing Slavery. The change of sovereignty over the territory, has not effected the validity or the force of this law, which according to the established principles of international law, and the decisions of our own courts remains in force and is operative at the present day, to the exclusion of Slavery from that territory. An effort however, is being made to abrogate or annul that law. If not by its actual repeal through a direct legislative enactment, at least by indirect means, the effect, if not the object of which will be to permit the introduction of slaves within the territory.

However we may deprecate the necessity of discussing a question of a nature to excite sectional prejudices or fears, we may no longer avoid the consideration of one which is now of present, practical, and paramount importance.

The State of New-York early manifested her attachment to the principles of universal Freedom and her repugnance to the institution of human Slavery. Holding that the Constitution of the United States at the time of its adoption, found Slavery to exist within and by virtue of the laws of the several States, and therefore recognized the fact of its existence as a State institution, without giving to it, in any degree, a national or constitutional character or existence, but left it entirely dependent for its continuance and its regulation upon the legislation of the several States; our State half a century since, commenced a course of legislation for the gradual but certain extinction of Slavery within her borders. As a party to the Federal compact she has ever adhered strictly and literally to the compromises of the Constitution and has not sought to interfere with the domestic institutions or to disturb the internal policy of any of the other parties to the compact; but has left each to exercise in its own way the same power under which she had proclaimed freedom to all men within her limits. This course she will continue faithfully to pursue, and while she will not intermit the expression of her attachment to the principles of universal freedom, and of her abhorrence of human bondage, she will abstain from all interference with the domestic institutions of other States, beyond that moral influence which must attend the force of her example and the expression of her deep seated convictions.

The "Compromises of the Constitution," as they are familiary termed, do not of right extend to territory beyond the limits of the original thirteen States. The privilege which they concede may be granted but cannot be claimed for any newly acquired Territory. The question now presented, is not one of interference with an existing institution, for the soil to which it refers is free. By preexisting laws, no Slavery exists there, nor can it exist without either the express or the tacit assent of the old States. It is then a question of the introduction of Slavery into Territory from which it is now excluded, and the consequent political representation of Slaves in the Federal Congress, whenever the new Territory shall be organized into State Governments, and admitted as such into the Confederacy.

If there be any one subject upon which the people of the State of New-York approach near to unanimity of sentiment, it is in their fixed determination to resist the extension of Slavery over territory now free. With them it involves a great moral principle, and overrides all questions of temporary or of political expediency. None venture to dissent; and in the mere difference of degree in which the sentiment receives utterance, it has proved powerful even to the breaking down of the strong barrier of party organization. This sentiment is not of recent origin with our people. It was this sentiment which, fifty years ago, prompted the abolishment of Slavery in this State. It was this nearly unanimous sentiment of the people which was reflected, and received utterance in the voice of our Legislature, at the period of the agitation of the question, on the admission of Missouri into the Union. Slavery not only existed at that time within the limits of Missouri, but was legalized within the whole Territory acquired by the United States under the treaty with France. The people of our State were induced to yield their assent to a compromise then made, whereby a State permitting Slavery was admitted into the Union, formed out of territory not embraced within the compromises of the Constitution, by the consideration that Slavery and involuntary servitude should be for ever excluded from remaining portion of the territory within which Slavery was theretofore authorized. They yielded the political advantage of Slave representation, by a portion of the territory, for the moral triumph of establishing, freedom throughout the remainder.

They are now asked to become parties to the extension of Slavery over territory already free. Their answer may be read in their past history. I believe that it is almost if not entirely, the unanimous decision of the people of this State that under no circumstances will their assent be given to any action whereby the institution of Slavery shall be introduced into any part of the territory of the United States from which it is now excluded.

During the past year the people of the United States have exhibited another instance of the peacefulness and order with which they select the magistrates to whom they confide, for a time, the powers of Government. The universal acquiescence in the election of the majority, indicated immediately and unhesitatingly after the strife of the contest, affords the most encouraging assurance that the perpetuity of our institutions is not jeopardy differences of opinion with respect to the individuals to be entrusted with power.

The recent elections throughout the Union have had the effect to restore to the People, through their more immediate representatives, much of the power which had been gradually tending toward the Executive. They have declared that the will of the People on questions affecting their interests and welfare, as expressed through their representatives, ought to be respected and carried out by the Executive. They have proved that the American People value Peace and the advancement of humanity, as the true ends and objects for which a Republican Government was founded. They have given expression to the sentiment, that the constitutional powers of our Government are beneficent in their design, and they have administered a rebuke to that creed which holds Government to a state of inaction on the subjects of Education, Industry, Internal Improvements, and other kindred measures, looking to the happiness of man, the advancement of Freedom, and the melioration of the social and political system.

I have thus endeavoured to comply with the requirement of the Constitution, which makes it my duty to communicate to the Legislature the condition of the State, and to recommend such matters as I may judge expedient. It has been my aim to state facts, and to make suggestions, without more of detail, or of argument, than seemed necessary to a clear statement of the subject. I have entered upon this responsible task with much diffidence; relying upon the indulgence of a generous constituency, ever ready to excuse errors of the understanding, if accompanied by sincerity of purpose, and purity of motive.

I now submit these matters to your enlightened consideration, with the assurance of my most cordial cooperation in all your efforts to advance the varied interests of our great State—confident that your deliberations and actions will be earnestly directed to such ends as will promote the public interests, and advance the cause of Religion, Learning, Morality, and Happiness. I invoke upon those deliberations and actions the blessings and the guidance of that Almighty Being who rules the universe—in whose hands the wisest men are but humble agents of His will.

HAMILTON FISH.

Albany, January, 2 1849.

The *Liberator* of last week comes out in a new dress, and with some changes which add very much to its good looks. Such events are usually taken as proofs of a flourishing worldly condition. But we very much fear that our honoured cotemporary will never be a popular paper, even if Slavery be abolished. The editor says:

We begin our Nineteenth Volume with a new typographical dress—with the warmest congratulations of the season to our beloved friends and patrons—with a spirit as elastic as we felt at the commencement of our Anti-Slavery labours—and with a determination to make the LIBERATOR the enlightened, faithful and intrepid advocate of LIBERTY, PEACE, UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD. Commencing the paper without a subscriber, and almost without a friend,—having no other bank to draw upon than the BANK OF FAITH,—for eighteen years we have struggled against a tide of opposition and under a load of obloquy, simply for demanding the immediate liberation of our fettered countrymen, such as few have been called to stem or bear in any age or country. At no time have we been sustained by any responsible body, for the means to carry on our operations. Our subscription list is all we have to rely upon for subsistence, excepting such incidental aid as may be voluntarily extended to use through sympathy and friendship. The list has always been inadequate to cover the necessary expenses of the paper, even if every subscriber had been faithful to its terms; but, in common with other newspaper establishments, we have suffered serious losses from the want of integrity or attention on the part of many calling themselves our "patrons."

We need a considerable augmentation of good paying subscribers; and the commencement of a new volume is a favourable time for those who feel a special interest in the permanence of the Liberator, to exert themselves "with a will" to effect this desirable purpose. It does not look like a formidable task for every one of our present subscribers to procure the name of another one to be added to our list. If this were done, we should be delivered from many depressing embarrassments, and enabled to prosecute our work with far greater efficiency. But will it be done? We trust that at least an effort will be made to do it, and we cannot doubt that it will be made successfully.

Parson Brownlow and South Carolina.

We copied not long since an extract of Parson Brownlow's letters to the South Carolina Committee, but finding the whole of it in a Southern paper we publish it as a curiosity of the times. We believe the writer exercises no little influence in his own neighbourhood, and is esteemed as good a hand at a "knock-down and drag out," as an ex-pounder of the Law and the Prophets.

JONESBOROUGH, Penn. Nov. 22, 1848.

Gentlemen:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular of this month, and also the published proceedings in pamphlet form, to which you allude. I have perused both with the attention the grave subjects of discussion demand, and I now hasten to respond, tho' with more brevity than I would wish on account of my many pressing engagements. In what I may say, I intend nothing disrespectful to you, gentlemen, or the "Citizens of Charleston," whom you have the honour to represent. Nor do I intend the slightest reflection upon the Whigs of South Carolina. I entertain the highest respect for that Spartan band of Whigs, who, against most formidable odds, for a series of years, have maintained their column unbroken, and shown themselves worthy of the principles which they so gallantly espoused. But with all due deference to them collectively, and to you individually, I must decline, gentlemen, cooperating with South Carolina in anything, or at any time. And in the absence of information, touching any new issues which may be made, in our country hereafter, I only desire to know which side of a question South Caroiina advocates; it will be my duty, as it is my purpose, to take the opposite side!

In the recent Presidential election, I discover that your State has voted for General Cass, a notorious *Abolitionist—known to be such*. He was born an Abolitionist—he was raised one—and he is still one—having avowed himself to be a *Wilmot Provisoist*, upon the floor of the Senate, in the hearing of *Mr. Calhoun*, who instructed you to vote for him. I regard Mr. Calhoun, your great leader, as a corrupt politician, and a dangerous man, seeking to dissolve this glorious Union. I regard him as insincere in all his pretended concern for the South. The leading politicians of the dominent party in your State, I regard as a band of Nullifiers and disorganizers, who, with all their cheap professions of chivalry, and their *affected* disdain of the alleged selfishness of the *Free States*, are as time serving and office seeking, as any set of politicians within the range of my observation. And a belief on the part of Mr. Calhoun, that Cass would be elected, in connection with his inordinate desire for office, induced him to *order* his understrappers in your Legislature to vote for Cass.

And now, gentlemen, look at the position your State occupies! Side by side you stand, with the *Abolitionists* of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois! Arm and arm is South Carolina with the Hartford Convention *Federalists* of New Hampshire!—Hand in hand, you are, with the *Repudiator* of Illinois! "Cheek by jowl" you are marshalled among the *murderers and thieves* of Texas! What a mixture! What political associations! For my part I never intend to be associated with a party which expects, needs, or seeks favours of South Carolina!

I regard your proposition for a "Convention of the slaveholding States," together with an expressed determination "to resist at all hazards," what you are pleased to style "the aggressions of the Free Soil Faction," as a *revolutionary* movement, having for its object the dissolution of this Union, and as such, I throw it back upon you with feelings of indignation and contempt.

I am a southern man, with southern principles and will ever be found true to southern interests, unless the South, in evil hour, should consent to be led by *John Catiline Calhoun*, whom General Jackson sought to hang for *treason* and *rebellion*, during his Presidential reign!

In conclusion, gentlemen, my advice to you, and the citizens of South Carolina whom you represent, is, to abandon your mad schemes of nullification and disunion and submit, as quiet and peaceable citizens, to the laws and constitution of your country. In obedience to the injunctions of Holy Writ, "obey them that have the rule over," and "be at peace among yourselves." If General Taylor is the man I take him to be, and you urge your treasonable schemes of disunion, he will *carry out* the measures General Jackson set on foot among you—he will hang some of your leaders, and subdue the rest of you at the point of the bayonet. He will send among you that same sterling Whig, Windfield Scott, at the head of our regulars, who made his appearance in the Harbour of Charleston, in 1832, under orders from Andrew Jackson!

I am, gentlemep,
With great respect, &c.
W. G. BROWNLOW.

Judge Edmond's decision, in the case of Joseph Belt, claimed as a fugitive slave, and brought before him for discharge under writ of habaes corpus. Dec. 28. 1848.

The Judge said he would not trouble the counsel for the prisoner to argue the case. There were two points on which his mind was very clear, and which were decisive of the question before him.

In the first place, it was necessary for the claimant to establish the fact, that the prisoner was bound to service. The evidence was satisfactory that he had been *held* to service in Maryland but there was no evidence, that under the laws of that State he was *bound* to service.

The claimant had failed to prove the laws of Maryland in such a manner as under the rules of evidence, to permit them to be referred to, and he could not therefore know or hold that by those laws. Slavery was tolerated in that state. It was true, it was generally understood that it was, but upon any such general understanding no judge could act. There must be lawful evidence thereof, and that the claimant had failed to give. He had therefore, failed to establish the main point in his case and on which the issue has been joined: namely that Belt was bound to him in service.

But even if that had been sufficiently proved, there was another reason why the prisoner was entitled to his discharge, and that arose from the manner in which he was detained by his master.

There was only one case in which a fugitive slave could be held by his master, in his personal custody, in this State. That was under the law of Congress to take him without delay before the proper authorities, in order to obtain the certificate necessary to justify his removal out of the State. This had not been done in this case. Instead of taking Belt before the United States District Judge, the claimant had removed him to a distance. Instead of taking him there without delay, he had detained him in his own custody for two days. Instead of seeking a judicial determination on his claim to the boy's services, he had witndrawn him to a distance and concealed him. And now on his return he claims, not that he holds him under the act of Congres for the purposes contemplated in that statute, but that he holds him as his slave, because he owes him servitude. If he can do this for two days he can for two years or twenty. To justify this, would warrant every slaveholder in the nation to hold his slaves in this State as long as he pleases notwithstanding that Slavery was unknown to our laws.

As the claimant then avowed that he held the boy not in conformity to the act of Congress, but in contravention of it, it was the duty of the Judge to order him discharged from that custody.

In doing so, however, the Judge said he must not be understood as attempting to decide the question, whether the boy was actually a slave, or whether his master had or had not the right to inforce his return to his service, under the laws of Congress. These were questions not before him, and on them he expressed no opinion. He merely intended to decide that the boy was entitled to be discharged from his present restraint because that restraint was not in conformity to the laws of Congress or the laws of this State.

Letter from John Q. Adams.

Ex-Governor Wm. Slade of Vermont, communicates to the *Burlington (Vt) Courier* an interesting letter which he received from the late J. Q. Adams more than a year ago. We copy it:

QUINCY, Mass. August—, 1847.

WILLIAM SLADE, Esq.—*My Dear Friend*:—I have received your letter of the 23d instant, from Saratoga Springs, and learn, with great satisfaction, your connection with the Educational Movement to which you have devoted your future energies. I wish them all success, and particularly all prosperity to your exertions in the cause of Education, as tributary to the cause of human freedom. But my career of active life ought, perhaps, even at this time, to be entirely closed. It is very doubtful whether I shall be again permitted to take any part in the affairs of this world; and at all events I can take no part in the furtherance of any project for the improvement of education generally.

In a negotiation of one of the treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I think in the year 1843, the Portuguese Minister of State was very solicitous to introduce a stipulation to limit the time of the duration of the Treaty; and after proposing several specific periods—to none of which the British negotiator, Lord Howard de Walden, would agree, the Portuguese Minister of State finally requested him to ascertain from his own Government, to what period of limitation they would subscribe. Lord Howard de Walden accordingly put the question in a dispatch to Lord Palmerston, then, as now, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whose prompt and ready answer was, that the limitation to which the British Government would assent was twelve months after the abolition of Slavery throughout the earth.

The principle thus assumed by the Government of Great Britain is the only one that ever will contribute to that great improvement of the condition of men upon earth, the abolition of Slavery. If sincerely assumed, and perseveringly maintained by the Government of Great Britain, its final consummation cannot be long procrastinated. But until sincerely assumed by the real friends of freedom, as well in England as in these United States, the cause of Freedom will, as Shakspeare says,

"Be bound in shallows and in miseries."

There is one improvement in the popular education throughout the Union, embracing within itself, and in its consequences, all others. It is that improvement which shall administer to the soul of every male child, born within the free portion of these States, the principle of that oath which, it is said, the Carthagenian Hamilcar administered to his son Hannibal, with reference to Rome, eternal, inextinguishable hatred, not to Rome, nor to any existing nation, but the Slavery throughout the earth.—The existence of this moral pestilence, preying upon the human race,—is the great evil now suffered by the race of men,—an evil to be extinguished by the will of man himself, and by the operation of that will. La Fayette, at the opening of the French Revolution, said that, for a nation to be free, she had but to will it. However true that may be of any single nation, it is undoubtedly true of the whole race of man; and we may safely say that if the will of the free portion of this North American people could be organized for action, the people of the whole American Union would, *ipso facto*, become free. The first step to the organization of this national will must be by an improvement in popular education; and this in my estimation so indispensable, that I hold it of little importances to attempt any other.

The spirit which animated Hamilcar in the administration of the oath to his son, was identically the same with that which actuated Cato in closing every speech which he made in the Senate of Rome, with the memorable words, "Delenda est Carthago;" and we have recently had the utterence of the same sentence from the Moloch of Slavery, applied to the angel of light, Abolition. Prince Moloch has announced to peers of Pandemonium that Abolition is coming in battle array, and must be met. She is coming; but I fear it will yet be long before Moloch will be called defensively to meet her. When he does, the transformation of him and his whole host from giants into pigmies, will leave a bloodless victory to Abolition.

The revolution to be effected in the North American Confederacy, preliminary to the abolition of Slavery throughout the earth, is in the will of the portion of the American people already free. They now suffer themselves to be told that Slavery is nothing to them, and they sleep in bonds of voluntary servitude. How long they will so sleep, it will be of no use for me to inquire. The day of their awakening is reserved for a future age.

I conclude with repeating my best wishes for the success of your projects for the improvement of popular education, and that they may tend, at least indirectly, to that ultimate improvement, which is still the object of my prayers and my hopes.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

New York Legislature on the Slavery Question.

Mr. Wilkin in the Senate opposed the following Preamble and Resolutions, which after considerable discussion both there and in the lower House, were passed unanimously.

Whereas, The people of New Mexico have petitioned Congress for the establishment of a territorial government, which shall protect them against the institution of domestic Slavery while they remain a territory of the United States; and have also petitioned Congress for protection against the unfounded claims of the State of Texas to a large portion of their territory lying east of the Rio Grande; and whereas, it would be unjust to the people of New Mexico and revolting to the spirit of the age to permit domestic Slavery, an institution from which they are now free, to be introduced among them; and whereas, since the acquisition of New Mexico by the United States, the people thereof have a right to expect the protection of the General Government, and should be secured in the full possession and enjoyment of their new territory—Therefore,

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur,)

Our choice has been long since made and promulgated. The inhabitants of the Free States in general are announcing their decision; I say announcing, because, notwithstanding the fal e glosses which have been placed upon thhir opinions by entangling them in the meshes of party pyltitics, it is not to be denied or disguised that they have, with unprecedented unanimity, regarded effectual resistance to the farther extension of Slavery as not only a political but a religious.

Accept for yourself, and for the members of your Association, my sincere acknowledgments for the partial estimate you have formed of my character and conduct, and the assurance of my earnest desire that the political career you have so worthily commenced, may be crowned with usefulness and honour, and that health, happiness and prosperity may be the lot of each one of you.

I remain, truly, your friend,
M. VAN BUREN.

To Mr. James Constadt Holmes.

☞ Hon. Joshua R. Giddings will accept our thanks for a copy of the very valuable Report of the Patent Office, made at the last session of Congress.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton.—The review of the memoir of Sir T. F. Buxton has been interrupted by the illness of the editor, but will be resumed next week. To the same cause may be attributed the lack in this week's paper, of the usual amount of editorial matter.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

Senate.—Thursday, January 2d.—Mr. Baldwin moved a resolution, instructing a select committee, to inquire into the expediency of repealing the act conferring on the President the power by proclamation, to establish reciprocal trade with foreign Governments in certain cases.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, from the Committee on military affairs, referred a contract made between the House of Howland and Aspinwall and the New Granada Government, for a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, which was ordered to be printed.

Various notices of bills were given, and some reported, and a resolution passed, instructing a committee to inquire into the expediency of organising a special Board to settle all claims against the United States.

House of Representatives.

A bill for supplying deficiencies in last year's appropriation, was taken up and passed after some discussion.

A resolution to print an extra number of Emory's Report, and Fremont's Journal, was adopted.

A report was made in favour of Mr. Cibley of Wisconsin, taking his seat, and notice given of a minority report.

In Committee of the Whole, the House took up the bill establishing a Board of Commissioners on claims.

House.—A minority report was made by Mr. Boyden of North Carolina, against Mr. Cibley's right to a seat in the House.

On motion the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and took up the bill for the establishment of a Board of Commissioners, to settle claims against the Government, and the time was consumed in its discussion.

Saturday, January 6th—The Senate not in session.

House.—A resolution to call to Ohio all the unsold public lands in the Chilicothe district, was sent to the Committee on Public Lands. A debate on the *Pacheco Claim* here ensued, which is reported as follows in the *Herald*:—

THE NEGRO CASE AGAIN—MR. GIDDING'S VIEWS.

On the 28th of December, the House ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to the legal representatives of Antonio Pacheco, late a resident of Florida one thousand dollars; the same being the full value of a slave transported with the Seminole Indians, by order of General Jesup.

Mr. Giddings, who moved to reconsider the vote, had commenced his remarks, but gave way for an adjournment. This morning he was entitled to the floor, and arose for the purpose of resuming his speech when

Mr. Rockwell, of Connecticut, appealed to the gentleman to postpone his remarks, that the bill to establish a board for the settlement of claims, might be taken up.

Mr. Giddings said, in substance: the subject has been pressing on my mind, and I wish to unburden myself. I prefer going on now. ["Go on!" "Let's hear him!"] When I yielded the floor on a former occasion, I had laid down as one of the principles on which our government was founded, that man is entitled to the enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness. But, instead of legislating for the maintenance of human rights and liberty, we are called upon to recognize principles which the framers of the Constitution denied distinctly, emphatically, and unconditionally. I will briefly state the facts involved in this case. A man named Pacheo, living in Florida, claimed to own a man by the name of Lewis, who was said to be intelligent, and spoke with fecility several languages. An officer of the government employed this man, or rather entered into a compact with the master, that he should guide the defeated command of Major Dade, at the rate of fifty-four dollars a month. He entered upon the duties. The command was assailed and murdered by the enemy, and I believe that this man Lewis only escaped. He remained with the enemy a few years, uniting with them in their depredations and forays on the people of Florida. He became one of them, and an efficient ally. He was captured by the military force of the United States, and was sent with the Seminoles to the Indian country west of the Mississippi.

Mr. Palfrey—I would ask my friend, who has paid more attention to this subject than I have, whether it is established by the facts of the case, that this negro Lewis was sent to the Indian country by General Jesup. I know that the evidence of Casey and Reynolds, at first sight establish that point: but General Jesup says, "believing that a communication was kept up between the hostiles and certain persons in Cuba, and that the negro, if surrendered to the claimants, would be immediately employed against us, I refused to surrender him, and ordered that he should be sent to New Orleans. Whether he was sent to the West or not, I had no means of knowing."

Mr. Giddings—There is no evidence that Lewis was sent west of the Mississippi, but this is taken for granted by the committee who reported the bill.

Mr. Burt—I suggest to the gentleman. that there is evidence that the negro was in New Orleans with the Indians on their way to the west of the Mississippi. This man Lewis, General Jesup says was sent to New Orleans to go thence. If the gentleman from Massachusetts will look to the testimony of Mcintosh, in the report, he will see that this negro man is in the west.

Mr. Giddings resumed—On the state of facts sent out, of the evidence of the commanding officer, the majority on the Committee on Military Affairs reported the bill. The committee is composed of five slaveholders and four non-slaveholders. I want to call the attention of Northern men to the truth, that this bill was forced on the House, solely and exclusively by the slaveholders, contrary to the protestation of every member from the Free States who belong to the committee. If northern members vote for the bill, to day, it will be under the lash of the slaveholders, and against the protestations of the most able and intelligent members from the free States. It is my intention that the issue shall go to the country. If I become earnest in this cause you will pardon me, for I say that the whole legislation of the country is sought to be overturned in order to subject northern men to the payment for southern slaves. I say to those who support this bill, that, from 1776 to this day, the treasure of the United States has never been paid out as indemnity for slaves. Let me say to the gentlemen from the South, meet me here, but don't set your letter writers on me. [Ha ha! ha!] The northern members deny that the constitution recognises slaves as property. I repeat, one century, has elapsed, since the doctrine was overthrown in Great Britain, and now we are called upon in an American Congress, at this enlightened day, to recognise it. [Gentlemen in the hall, who began to be interested in what Mr. Giddings was saying, took seats near him, in the area in, front of the clerk's desk.] My doctrine is that we have nothing to do with Slavery, nor with its good or evil, nor with its blessings and disgrace. I stand by Madison, and I tell you that the people of the Free States will stand with him and an unmistakable voice will come from them to this effect. In the convention which framed the constitution no southern man arose and said it was right to recognise slaves as property. Every member from South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia, maintained the doctrine advocated by Madison. Will the successors of Mr. Madison sustain them. I can show that, on this sixth day of January, 1849, this doctrine is the polar star of the North. To this day we have never passed a bill like this, where the question has been examined and discussed. In this Hall in 1842 John White of Kentucky, the speaker, appointed me a member of the committee on Claims. I happened to introduce a resolution denying that the people could be made to support the Slave Trade. For this I was expelled, as a member, on the 22d of March in that year. On the first of April following the first report was made—this very bill to pay for the negro man Lewis. It was after I was sent home that a slave member introduced the bill for the relief of Pacheco. I thank God as well as man that this case must at some time come to a period, and I tender my thanks to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Burt) for giving us an opportunity for action. Mr. Giddings then adverted to the remarks of that gentleman on a former occasion, when

Mr. Burt arose and in an earnest manner said that what he did say should not be perverted.

Mr. Giddings—The gentleman said that none should escape. This was like cracking the whip. Let northern gentlemen say that their mouths are closed, and sealed, when their honour is threatened. Before God, man, and the House, and the country, I protest against the principle of paying for slaves as property, and the attempt to gag those who will not support the bill.

After some further remarks, the Speaker let his hammer fall, indicating that Mr. Giddings had consumed the hour allotted to him by the rules.

Mr. Hilliard did not rise to reply to the speech which had just been made, and which had been so fully discussed. He did not think that the House would be benefitted by any further debate. The object ought to be to dispense light, without seeking to inflame the passions of the country. He want ed to test the sense of the House, by moving the previous question. If there be a desire to sustain it, to bring the question to a vote, it can be done. If the House wish to continue the debate, they can refuse to sustain the previous question.

Messrs. Palfrey and Giddings arose at the same time—The latter was recognized, and he withdrew the motion to re-consider the vote by which the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The Speaker announced that the question would now be on the passage of the bill. ["Yeas and nays," "yeas and nays." "question," "question."]

The vote was taken, and the result was thus stated—yeas 90, nays 89, as follows, viz:—

Yeas—Messrs. Barrow, Birdsall, Bocock, Bowlin, Boyd, Boyden, Brady, Bridges, Brodhead, W. G. Brown, Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Burt, Butler, Cabell, Chapman, Chase, Clapp, Franklin, Clark, Beverly D. Clark, Clingman, W. R. Cobb, Cocke, Crisfield, Crozier, Daniel, Donnell Duncan, Dunn, Featherston, Ficklin, Flournoy, French, Fulton, Gaines, Gayle, Gogdin, Green, Hammons, Hermanson, Harris, Hill, Hilliard, Isaac E. Holmes, George S. Houston, John W. Houston, Inge, Iverson, Jameson, Andrew Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, George W. Jones, Kaniman, La Sere, Leffler, Levin, Ligon, Lumpkin, McDowell, McKay, McLane, Job Mann, Meade, Morehead, Morse, Outlaw, Peyton, Phelps, Preston, Richardson, Richey, Rose, Sheppard, Stanton, Stephens, Taylor, Thibodeaux, Thomas, James Thompson, Jacob Thompson, Richard W. Thompson, John B. Thompson, Tompkins, Toombs, Venable, Wallace, Wiley, Williams, Woodward—92.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Belcher, Bingham, Blackmar, Canby, Cathcart, Collamer, Collins, Conger, Cranston, Crowell, Darling, Dickey, Dixon, Daer, Eckert, Edwards, Embree, Nathan, Evans, Faran, Fisher, Freedley, Fries, Giddings, Gott, Greeley, Gregory, Grinnell, Nathan K. Hall, James G. Hampton, Moses Hampton, Henley, Henry, Elias B. Holmes, Hubbard, Hudson, Jenkins, James H. Johnson, Kellogg, Kennon, jr. Daniel P. King, Lahm, William T. Lawrence, Sidney Lawrence, Lincoln, Lord, McClelland, McIlvaine, Horace, Mann, March, Marvin, Miller, Morris, Mullin, Nelson, Nes, Newell, Palfrey, Peaslee, Peck, Petrie, Pettit, Pollock, Putnam, Robinson, Rockhill, Julius Rockwell, John A. Rockwell, Root, Ramsey, jr. St. John, Sawyer, Sherrill, Silvester, Smart, Caleb B. Smith, Truman Smith, Starkweather, Stuart, Strohm, William Thompson, Thurston, Tuck, Van Dyke, Vinton, Warren Wentworth, White, Wilson—89.

The twelfth rule of the House provides that, "in all cases of election by the House, the Speaker shall vote; in other cases he shall not vote, unless the house be equally divided, or unless his vote, if given to the minority, will make the division equal; and, in case of such equal division, the question shall be lost." It will be perceived that a casting vote was now at the disposal of the Speaker, in a case of great importance. There was much anxiety discernible on the faces of members, and silence pervaded the hall—there was breathless attention.

The Speaker arose in his peculiarly dignified manner, and proceeded to say: On this case, as well as others, the Chair has been deprived of the opportunity of hearing any speech except that made this morning by the gentleman from Ohio. The Chair has had little opportunity, if any, to turn his attention to the principles or the facts involved in the claim; but, nevertheless, he cannot shrink from giving his vote. [A voice: "Ah! the bill's lost!"] It is, however, a well admitted parliamentary principle that where the Chair doubts with regard to a question, the vote may be given in such a way as not finally to conclude it, and in such a way that the consideration can be again opened to the House, if the reconsideration be refused. The Chair takes this occasion to say that he does not agree in full with either of the principles advanced on both sides of the question, so far as he understands it. He doubts exceedingly whether property in slaves is involved in this question; it is to me a matter of great doubt, so far as I can judge from what I have heard—

While the House were listening, drinking in, silently, every word,

The Clerk turned his head towards the Speaker, and said, in a low tone, "There is a mistake, sir, in the count; there is one more in the affirmative." The few members who heard him began to laugh, and it was then that

The Speaker seemed to have experienced a relief from his position, while he announced "There is a mistake—the bill is passed: yeas 92, nays 89." [After the House adjourned, it was discovered that the vote was a tie—89 to 89, as the actual number of yeas and nays above given demonstrated.]

Loud and long continued laughter went up. Ha! ha! ha! ho! ho! he! he! and amid the merriment,

Mr. Burt said, elevating his voice to a loud pitch—I move to reconsider the vote, and to lay that motion on the table; and, before the question is taken, I move a call of the House. ("Agreed!" "agreed!" "no!" "no!")

Mr. Palfrey—I ask the attention of the gentleman from South Carolina—

The Speaker—The motion for a call is not debateable.

Mr. Palfrey—I have no objection, under existing circumstances.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole and took up the bill for a Board of Commissioners, which was debated till the hour of adjournment.

Senate, Wednesday, January 3d.—Various memorials and petitions were received and referred, and some bills mostly of a private character, were received and disposed of.

Mr. Dix opposed a petition asking for an appropriation for the printing of the papers of Mr. Monroe, and moved that it be referred to the Library Committee.

The Senate went into executive session, and the doors were closed.

House.—After some preliminary and unimportant business, Mr Giddings, of Ohio, presented a petition, signed by a number of females, praying for the abolition of Slavery throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, wished to debate its reception and reference; but it was laid over.

Sundry bills were reported and referred to the committee of the whole.

Mr. B. Smith, from the Committee on the Territories, to whom the subject had been referred, reported a bill organizing a territorial government for New Mexico, [containing a provision excluding Slavery]. It was referred to the committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

A message was received from the President, in answer to a resolution calling for information in reference to contributions levied in Mexican ports during the recent war It was ordered to be printed.

Senate, Thursday January 4th—Petitions were presented asking a reduction of postage, and a change in the Tariff. Notices of various bills to be introduced were given, and a number of private bills passed.

House.—The vote of the previous day to print the message of the President, was reconsidered, and the message laid on the table.

A bill from the Senate was passed extending Cuostm House laws to Whitehall, N. Y.

A memorial was presented from the electoral messengers asking, that their pay be increased from 12½ to 25 cents per mile; a joint resolution from the Senate to the same purpose was taken up, and, after some discussion, passed.

The House adjourned at an early hour, to attend the funeral of Mr. Gold, late assistant clerk of the House.

Senate, Friday, January 5th.—Mr. Dix brought in a bill for the improvement of the Harbour of New York, which was read twice, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Hannegan, of Indiana, presented a memorial in favour of appropriating certain public lands for the purpose of colonizing the free persons of colour.

A bill was reported granting a reservation of land to the State of Arkansas; another for a grant for a railway in Missouri.

On motion, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of a resolution previously offered by Mr. Miller, of New Jersey, calling on the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate all correspondence which this government has had with the government of Spain, for the purchase of Cuba.

Mr. Miller said that he did not wish to detain the Senate; but would proceed to offer a few remarks in explanation of his motives for bringing the subject to their notice. During his remarks,

Mr. Rusk, of Texas, interrupted him, and said that he wished to ask a question "Does the Senator from New Jersey suspect that such a correspondence is now going on between the two governments in reference to the purchase and sale of Cuba?"

Mr. Miller—I do.

Mr. Foote, of Mississippi—If negotiations are going on for the said purchase, will the Senator oppose the annexation of Cuba?

Mr. Miller—I will oppose it under all circumstances, in all places, and on all occasions

Mr. Foote.—The Senator from New Jersey, I am sorry to say, will soon find himself in an unpleasant predicament, if he presses this measure further; *for the President elect has already committed himself in favour of the annexation of Cuba.*

Mr. Dickinson moved to lay the resolution on the table, which was carried by a vote of yeas 24, nays 19.

Notes on New Books.

The Vision of Sir Launfal. By James Russell Lowell, *Cambridge: Published by George Nichols.* 1848.

This last poem of Mr. Lowell is contained in a little volume of scarce two dozen pages, got up, as to type, paper, and binding, in the neat and attractive style which distinguishes everything from the press of Mr. Nichols,—and indeed, everything, as a general rule, from the Boston publishers, who maintain, in book-making, the character of superiority which belongs to Massachusetts in everything else as well.

The Vision of Sir Launfal is a vision of a search for the Holy Grail. Sir Launfal said:

"My golden spurs now bring to me,
And bring to me my richest mail,
For to-morrow I go over land and sea
In search of the Holy Grail;
Shall never a bed for me be spread,
Nor shall a pillow be under my head,
Till I begin my vow to keep;
Here on the rushes will I sleep,
And perchance there may come a vision true
Ere day create the world anew.
Slowly Sir Launfal's eyes grew dim,
Slumber fell like a cloud on him,
And into his soul the vision flew."

And what was the vision? Did he find the Holy Grail? or did he come back a way-worn, weary pilgrim from the Holy Land, leaning on staff instead of spear—with dust and blood instead of golden spurs upon his feet,—wrapped in Palmer's mantle, instead of glistening in richest mail;—with the cross upon his garment rather than the guerdon of knightly prowess upon his hauberk? The reader must get the book and read for himself what was the vision of Sir Launfal, for we shall not tell him. It would be almost an infringement upon copyright, to tell the story, and quote largely also from a poem which is not ten minutes reading.

The poem, brief as it is, abounds with passages of rare beauty. As a whole we consider it finer than anything Mr. Lowell has yet given us; far finer than anything yet produced by any American poet, from Sandys down to the last compendium of Mr. Griswold; and fit alone to have given to its author a name and fame, had he never written anything else. It is the ripe fruit which the early blossom of Mr. Lowell's genius promised; the full corn in the ear which his later works made certain was almost ready for the gathering. Not that he has not written other poems which have breathed the same spirit with this; which have been characterised by the same felicitous choice of language—that peculiar power over our mother-tongue, which Browning possesses before all other living poets, of whom, more than any one else, Lowell reminds us—which have shown something of the same intimacy with the ever-changing beauty of nature, and the same love for her in all her moods; but no one has ever combined all these qualities in such rich profusion as Sir Launfal. But beautiful as it is as a whole, there are portions of it so complete in themselves, so full, and so melodious that while they linger in the memory like music, they will be remembered as homilies worth volumes of sermons, or as pictures of faultless colouring. Take, for instance, the following dozen lines, almost any one of which is complete in itself, and has the force of an adage, and the whole together contains as much truth as may be found in as many volumes of sermons:

"Earth gets its price for what Earth gives us;
The beggar is taxed for a corner to die in,
The priest has his fee who come and shrives us.
We barrain for the graves we lie in;
At the Devil's booth are all things sold,
Each ounce of dross costs its ounce of gold;
For a cap and bells our lives we pay,
Bubbles we earn with a whole life's tasking:
'Tis heaven alone that is given away,
'Tis only God may be had for the asking;
There is no price set on the lavish summer,
And June may be had by the poorest comer.

Or the following noble statement of the truth in the parable of the Widow's Mite, in a reply of a beggar to one who "tossed him a piece of gold in scorn."

"The leper raised not the gold from the dust:
'Better to me the poor man's crust,
Better the blessing of the poor,
Though I turn me empty from his door;
That is no true alms which the hand can hold;
He gives nothing but worthless gold
Who gives from a sense of duty;
But he who gives a slender mite,
And gives to that which is out of sight,
That thread of the all-sustaining Beauty
Which runs through all and doth all unite,—
The hand cannot clasp the whole of his alms,
The heart out-stretches its eager palms,
For a god goes with it and makes it a store
To the soul that was starving in darkness before.'"

We hardly know where to begin or where to end our extracts, as our space is too limited to do them justice. A description of a day in early summer, we can only quote in part, and even the whole would lose something of its beauty when detached from the poem to which as a whole, it bears a relation which is not seen in it simply as an extract:

"And what is so rare as a day in June?
Then, if ever, come perfect days:
Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
And over it softly her warm ear lays:
Whether we look, or whether we listen,
We hear life murmur, or see it glisten;
Every clod feels a stir of might,
An instinct within it that reaches and towers,
And grasping blindly above it for light,
Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers;
The flush of life may well be seen
Thrilling back over hill and vallies;
The cowslip startles in meadows green,
The buttercup catches the sun in its chalice,
And there's never a leaf or a blade too mean
To be some happy creature's palace;
The little bird sits at his door in the sun,
Atilt like a blossom among the leaves,
And lets his illumined being o'errun
With the deluge of summer it receives;
His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,
And the heart in her dumb breast flutters and sings;
He sings to the wide world, and she to her nest,—
In the nice ear of Nature which song is the best?"

Exqaisite as this picture is, that of a winter's day, is perhaps even finer:

"Down swept the chill wind from the mountain peak,
From the snow five thousand summers old;
An open wold and hill-top bleak
It had gathered all the cold,
And whirled it like sleet on the wanderer's cheek;
It carried a shiver everywhere
From the unleafed boughs and pastures bare;
The little brook heard it and built a roof
'Neath which he could house him, winter-proof;
All night by the white stars' frosty gleams
He groined his arches and matched his beams;
Slender and clear were his crystal spars
As the lashes of light that trim the stars;
He sculptured every summer delight
In his halls and chambers out of sight;
Sometimes his tinkling waters slipt
Down through a frost-leaved forest-crypt,
Long, sparkling aisles of steel-stemmed trees
Bending to counterfeit a breeze;
Sometimes the roof no fretwork knew
But silvery mosses that downward grew;
Sometimes it was carved in sharp relief
With quaint arabesque of ice-fern leaf,
Sometimes it was simply smooth and clear
For the gladness of Heaven to shine through, and here
He had caught the nodding bulrush-tops
And hung them thickly with diamond drops,
Which crystalled the beams of morn and sun,
And made a star of every one:
No mortal builder's most rare device
Could match this winter-palace of ice;
'Twas as if every image that mirrored lay
In his depths serene through the summer day,
Each flitting shadow of earth and sky,
Lest the happy model should be lost,
Had been mimicked in fairy masonry
By the elfin builders of the frost."

The Vision of Sir Launfal, we believe, is for sale at Putnam's, and can be had of the booksellers generally in Boston.

Domestic Correspondence.

Appeal, &c. &c.

Motives of the Appeal:—

Every one who does not labour is lost capital for the country. I am able to associate capital with industry, credi and virtue. Till now it may be considered as associated only with imposture, monopoly (which is not industry) and sometimes with crime. Now the great part of the rich are ashamed of their fortune, because very seldom it is the reward of virtue. A consequence of it must be civil and political servitude for some and Slavery for the others. Thus the afflictions of the coloured people and of others must be full of evil for our country. To advocate publicly and fruitfully this new doctrine, I want a room furnished with benches and desks, as I have been monopolised by priests and bankers I am at present without one cent. This is the motive of this appeal. Now Slavery no longer will be thought of as an accident, but as a bad principle full of evil to our country. Another consequence of that organization is our cruel and ignorant divisions. By my plan I prevent any man from being useless to the country; that finishes by a single blow the tyranny of bankers and priests. Is it not plain that if we were all equally interested in the country, we should be equally interested to pull down any kind of monopoly? This then is my object.

In fact I have never seen two persons, except husband and wife, having the same interest, in anything—when one makes a profit, another makes a loss. Therefore, half of the nation, at least, are hostile to the other. The number of the dissatisfied men shall increase, as the number of the satisfied shall diminish. If in a state one only is happy, it must be through despotical laws and many agents of tyranny: If some only are happy, it must be of constitutional laws and fewer agents of tyranny: and where all may be happy it must be through the most liberal laws and not one agent of tyranny. There are in a few words the three distinct governments: *Despotism, monarchy, republic*—The agents of tyranny are *Bankers* and *Priests*. The following facts will be a convincing proof of it.

I was studying that theory when a friend of mine, now a representative of the people in France, counselled me to go to America and examine their great principles of government. When I landed at New York I found my trunk had been stolen by some villainous fellow passenger; so that my first step on that earth procured me a disappointment. My opinions upon priests were only deduced from those I had seen in France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey. I was willing in that misfortune to prove those of America. I saw first the Bishop O——, because I supposed like master, like servant. I found this very happy mortal in a palace where I was sorry to see marble, columns, statues, gold, and silver, while at his doors were lying paupers wanting clothes, shoes, lodging, and bread. He listened to me and answered me without seeming to see me; but a scrutinizing glance had informed him he had nothing to gain from me. He mariously smiled at the account of my misfortune.

I if he could not give me any information upon the principles of public education. He answered me that was entirely ignorant of the affairs of this world. I le him to remark that the magnificence surrounding was much in contradiction to his words, and with Gospel. With a mournful voice he sighed, I am a sinner! Alas! cried I leaving him, who shall comt the afflicted? A coloured man whom I had seen long the paupers surrounding the outside of the Bish's palace, looked upon me with emotion and pointed to aven.

Opposite to the Prelate lived a French Revd. called ——. Drawing near his abode I was glad to say, if ere is one bad priest certainly there should be twenty od. Very soon I confessed that that was but a fancy the poor. I rang the bell. A young and very nice irl came to open the door. After many indiscreet inuiries as for instance, whence do you come? whence do ou go? what do you want? I was finally judged able o be admitted by the girl to see the happy Revd. He ade me the same inquiries as his servant. He added to hem the same preliminaries as the Bishop. I concluded hat comedy by saying that I was ready to publish a news paper upon a new and interesting subject. A newspaper shall always be the stumbling block of every priest. Then the Revd. reflected and considering doubtless that I was a man able to do what I proposed he said to me: ave you not any recommendation from Europe? I ould find for you a good situation. Now the loss of my trunk became more trying for me, but I discovered, by searching my pocket-book, I yet had a letter of introduction for two gentlemen, high placed in New York. I fortunately had not put them into my trunk. The Revd. knew perfectly well these two gentlemen, and he told me to see him again the following day. I did so punctually. He satisfied me by showing in a gentleman, a friend of his own religion, and besides a professional brother. This gentleman wanted a teacher of the French language and drawing. After a long trial I was engaged at the rate of two hundred dollars with lodging and washing per year. Though that was infinitely little in comparison with what I thought to gain, I joyfully closed and instantly set out with the Rector, called D——. We took a steamboat called the Mohegan. There I knew the place of my future retreat; it was N——. Hardly on board we set forward and now the captain wanted our tickets. I requested Revd. D—— to pay for me and to deduct that from my bill. He appeared much surprised at my request, thinking that a man of ability should not want money. Afterward, in the most pathetic parts of his sermons, he related my own case to his flock, to prove that wisdom is useless—so that, what his sermons wanted in solidity was made up in sophisms.

It is at the foot of a sloping hill, and enlivened by a running stream, which waters a thousand meadows and feeds an axe-factory belonging to Madam L——. Not far from the murmurs of this brook lays forever Nyonock, an Indian Chief, renowned for his wisdom in council against slave holders—his memory is religiously kept by the coloured people living thereby. Many prodigies have been seen around the wild pine tree which shades his sepulchral abode. I enquired of the Rev. D——, who were the most respectable inhabitants of that place. He mentioned to me all the trustees of his church, particularly the Judge L——, and Madam L——, besides his assistant Mr H——. The reader soon shall know how little we know of the truth when it is given by a priest.

On the evening I saw the family of the Rev. D——, and Mr. H——, it was when we were assembled in the dining-room to pray. Mr. H——, made the prayer and he took care to make the longest one, perhaps because he supposed, with reason, I should have prefered any other comfort after a journey of twenty four hours, without any food. While he feigned to pray, I could not indeed but laugh at seeing him. All his periods were marked by an eructation. He was dressed in a large coat of printed calico, with bright flowerings; I observed also a faded lady, still young, making wry faces when Mr. H——, eructed. Round her were two young girls about eighteen who bent their heads to the floor. My prayer was yet turned away by the school-boys, when one plundered his companion's pocket, while another stole the pancakes which were upon the table. The Rev. D——, made signs as big as Mr. H——'s eructations. The supper was begin by another homely, and was finished by general eructations.

I found the school without any discipline; the pupils knew only the history of Washington, who was a slaveholder, whence the teacher concluded that Slavery is harmless to the country, a conclusion sometimes enforced by examples chosen by the Rev. D——, from the Bible. These young people were hypocrites at church, blackguards in the streets, and quarrelsome in school.

My duty was then to discipline them—to show them the truth in history, and politeness in society. That was the hardest for me, but it was also the most fruitful for those poor fellows. I employed first kind ways, but faitlessly; they returned my kindness and philanthrophy by throwing serpents and rats in my room. I complained to the rector, who laughed at me; I spoke to his assistant who eructed in my face. I applied to Madam D——, who asked me—how is it possible he can be a gentleman who is without money? Then I took another way. I severely chastised the boys when they merited it, and they came to reverence me; I boxed Mr. H——, when he eructed before me: he became almost polite; I ceased to address a word to the rector, and he invited me to ride with him, and he presented me his two young girls, who requested me earnestly to give them lessons in French, during my hours at interval, which augmented my labour without any profit at all for me. The rector left the care of the school to his assistant entirely; but for their bills he was remarkably punctual. He made twenty times the same addition, adding always something to it. He never approved or criticised my method of teaching, but very often came to listen to my lessons, took some notes, and chewed his tobacco with vehemency when he could not understand them. *T. B. Vionis.*

☞ Donations or gifts to help me to furnish a room with benches and desks, may be addressed at home, Spruce st. 29, or Post Office, post-paid, N. Y. or at the office of the Standard.

To be continued.

General Intelligence.

FOREIGN.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMSHIP WASHINGTON.
Four Days
LATER FROM EUROPE.

The Washington arrived at this port on Monday afternoon, in nineteen days from Southampton, whence she sailed on the 20th ult.

The most important advices are from France, the dates being to the 18th.

Funds had risen, and there was a continuation and an increase of confidence preceptible amongst the moneyed and commercial classes of the metropolis, and of the departments.

Louis Napoleon received in the election nearly four millions majority.

Latest advices state that Paris was profoundly tranquil on the 19th.

M. Bixio, late President of the National Assembly of France, had been appointed Minister of Commerce.

Gen. Oudinot had declined going to St. Petersburg as Ambassador.

M. Emiline Girardin did not appear in the contemplated cabinet; Marshal Bugeaud was to be appointed to the command of the army of the Alps. General Cavaignac was to receive the elevation of a Marshal of France.

According to the latest votes; Cavaignac, 1,500; Ledru Rollin, Raspail, and Lamartine, 500,000 between them.

M. Odillon Barrot was to be at the head of the new government, and M. Lamartine was spoken of as likely to be put in nomination as Vice President of the Republic.

M. Thiers, Marshal Bugeaud, and Count Mole, for purposes, will not take part in the Ministry, although they assist *ad interim* in the preliminary discussions respecting it.

M. de Beaumont, Minister of the French Republic to England, under the Cavagnac administration, left London on the 18th, having resigned his post in consequence of the election of Prince Louis.

Our advices from Havre, of the 18th, mention that business continued to improve daily. Sales of cotton were made at an advance on previous rates of six francs.

England—Liverpool.—At Mark Lane, 18th Dec. English corn fell 1s. to 2s. per quarter, in consequence of large supplies of foreign wheat, which also declined. Flour in favour of the buyer, arriving from large arrivals; for Indian corn little demand.

The affairs of Italy every day become more involved and menacing. King Charles Albert had been obliged to yield to the ultra liberals, and to commission M. Globerti to form a cabinet.

M. Corcelles, the French Envoy to the Pope had returned to Paris, after accomplishing his mission.

The Pope was still at Gaeta, with the King of Naples, but his Holiness had assured M. Corcelles of his intention eventually to take refuge in France. In the meantime, a Provisional Government was proclaimed at Rome.

A deputation from the Chamber of Deputies to the Pope were stopped at and not permitted to enter the Neapolitan territory.

The deputation not having been enabled to accomplish its mission, returned to the Roman capital.

Our Vienna despatches of the 14th December, informs us that a Russian fleet has appeared off Trieste, for the purpose of suppressing the liberties of the Venetians by a blockade of the city. The Hungrians were meanwhile burning down their own towns and villages and destroying all means of communication, in order to cut off the invading Austrian army by cold, fever, or starvation.

The settlement of the Neapolitan and Sicilian question, was far from being arranged.

The Emperor of Russia had refused to acknowledge the Queen of Spain, and the Envoy from Madrid was to leave St. Petersburg on the 17th of December.

The overland India and China mail reached London on the morning of the 19th ult. with dates from Bombay, November 16. This mail brought no decisive news from the Northwestern frontier of British India in reference to the operations against the rebellious Moolraj of Moultan.—Forces were being rapidly concentrated, and not much time would elapse ere an engagement would take place. There was every probability of the Punjaub being annexed to and incorporated with the English dominions in India. The united army, 35,000 strong, would be ready for action on the 20th of December.

Miscellaneous Items.

For Liberia.—The Colonization Society will send out 400 liberated slaves in a vessel from New Orleans, Jan. 1. They include the Ross negroes, 200 in number.

Coal in Rhode Island.—We have several times called attention to the interesting and important evidences of the existence of Coal in this State. Mr. Ridgway, a geologist from Pennsylvania, who has been for some months examining various localities, with the view of ascertaining the fact in this case, opened a thick bed of coal of very good quality in Cronston last Friday. We have received a specimen of the Coal, which burns very freely in a close stove.—*Providence Journal.*

Important Slave Case.—The jury in the Kentucky slave case, in which several citizens of Marshall, Michigan, were defendants in a prosecution for rescuing fugitives from the hands of their owners or agents, which has just closed at Detroit, gave a verdict for the plaintiff of $1900 and costs.

Convicted of Murder.—The County Court, Judge Lee presiding, has been some days engaged in the trial of Henry Billington, indicted for the murder of Wm. E. Lane, near this city, in August last. The Jury on Saturday evening found a verdict of murder in the first degree. The evidence was wholly circumstantial. By our present law, the punishment is State Prison for life.—*Detroit Daily Advertiser.*

Slavery in Maryland—Curious Decision.—A curious question under the laws of Slavery has been decided in the Maryland Court of Appeals. Some time ago a wealthy gentleman died, having by will given freedom to certain of his slaves. There is a legacy duty payable in Maryland on all estates bequeathed by will, and the Register of the District in which the gentleman resided claimed from the executors the amount of this duty on the apprised value of the manumitted slaves. The claim was resisted, on the ground that freedom to a slave is not such a legacy of estate as is contemplated by the law; but the Court of Appeals has decided otherwise, holding that the bequest of freedom to a slave—that is, if a man to himself—is precisely similar, in legal intent and effect, to the bequest of a slave to any other person. The executors, therefore, have been required to pay the duty.

Labours of the Philanthropist.—John Augustus, whose philanthropic labours are well known, has made out his account current with misery, wretchedness and crime for the year. By an inspection of his roll, we learn that in the seven years ending with October, Mr. Augustus has become surety for 799 persons, to the amount of $57,670. In the Police Court the number was 502—353 males, 149 females; amount of bail, $15,320. In the Municipal Court, for five years, the number was 297—159 males, 138 females; amount of bail, $42,350. Of the number in the Police Court, 440 behaved so well that they were let off with a fine of one cent and costs, amounting to some $1,450.—Aside from the consideration of saving men from drunkenness, the above, with other expenses amounting to nearly $2,000, were saved to the County directly by the efforts of Mr. Augustus. In only one case of the whole number was he obliged to pay the forfeit of the bail, $100. Many of them are known to have entirely reformed from drinking. The record of the names of the persons who have come under the care of Mr. Augustus makes a roll 22 feet in length.—*Boston Republican.*

As we stated some time since that a William Berney Esq. formerly of this city, had received the appointment to a professorship of English Literature in France, we will further state, as a matter interesting to his friends, that his destination has been recently allotted him in the Institution at Bourges. The salary and perquisites of this position, as we learn by letters, is between two and $3000.—*Cincinnati Globe.*

Col. Taliaferro (pronounced Tolifer).—The Washington correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, thus speaks of Col. Taliaferro of Virginia, now 80 years of age, and for 40 a member of Congress. His health and faculties have never, for a moment, given way, and he is the same man now that he was when he was the confidential adviser of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe—the same man that he was when he opposed the Administration of the elder Adams. Col. Taliaferro has always lived liberally, and has enjoyed, as much as any man that ever lived, social pleasure, in all their approved forms. At a supper party the other night, he was asked what his secret was. He replied that he had never known disease—that he had never made but one meal a day—that if he took supper, he did not dine—that he had risen early—had always used exercise, and never on horseback when he could go afoot; and that under all circumstances he had preserved an equality of temper. His rule was never to suffer that which was past to prey upon his mind; to enjoy what Providence sent him, and to trust to the future.

A Great State.—Old Massachusetts has ever taken the lead in what is great, good, useful and profitable. She established the first school in the United States, the first academy, the first college. She set up the first press, printed the first book and the first newspaper. She planted the first apple-tree, and caught the first whale. She coined the first money, and hoisted the first national flag. She made the first canal and the first railroad. She invented the first mouse-trap and washing-machine, and sent the first ship to discover islands and continents in the South Sea. She produced the first Philosopher, and made the first pin. She fired the first gun in the Revolution, and gave "John Bull" his first beating, and put her hand first to the Declaration of Independence. She invented "Yankee Doodle," and gave a name forever to the "Universal Yankee Nation." Truly, a great State is Massachusetts.—*Memphis* (Tenn.) *Herald.*

From Hayti.—Information has been received from Hayti, by an arrival at Kingston, Jamaica, to the effect that President Soulouque's march to attack the D

Poetry.

CHILDHOOD.

By Jens Baggesen.—[A Dane.]

[*From Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe.*]

There was a time when I was very small,
When my whole frame was but an ell in height;
Sweetly, as I recall it, tears do fall,
And therefore I recall it with delight.

I sported in my tender mother's arms,
And rode a horse-back on best father's knee;
Alike were sorrows, passions, and alarms,
And gold, and Greek, and love, unknown to me.

Then seemed to me this world far less in size,
Likewise it seemed to me less wicked far;
Like points in heaven, I saw the stars arise,
And longed for wings that I might catch a star.

I saw the moon behind the islands fade,
And thought, "O were I on that island there,
I could find out of what the moon is made,
Find out how large it is, how round, how fair!"

Wondering, I saw God's sun, through western skies,
Sink in the ocean's golden lap at night,
And yet upon the morrow early rise,
And paint the eastern heaven with crimson light;

And thought of God, the gracious Heavenly Father,
Who made me, and that lovely sun on high,
And all those pearls of heaven thick-strung together,
Dropped, clustering, from his hand o'er all the sky.

With childish reverence, my young lips did say
The prayer my pious mother taught to me:
"O gentle God! O, let me strive alway
Still to be wise, and good, and follow thee!"

So prayed I for my father and my mother,
And for my sister, and for all the town;
The King I knew not, and the beggar-brother,
Who bent with age, went, sighing, up and down.

They perished, the blithe days of boyhood perished,
And all the gladness, all the peace I knew!
Now have I but their memory, fondly cherished;—
God! may I never, never lose that too!

From the National Intelligencer.

PERSEVERANCE.

A swallow in the spring,
Came to our granary, and 'neath the eaves
Essayed to make a nest, and there did bring
Wet earth, and straw, and leaves.

Day after day she toiled,
With patient heart; but ere her work was crowned,
Some sad mishap the tiny fabric spoiled,
And dashed it to the ground.

She found the ruin wrought,
But, not cast down, forth from the place she flew,
And, with her mate, fresh earth and grasses brought,
And built her nest anew.

But scarcely had she placed
The last soft feather on its ample floor,
When wicked hand, or chance, again laid waste,
And wrought the ruin o'er.

But still her heart she kept,
And toiled again; and last night, hearing calls,
I looked, and, lo! three little swallows slept
Within the earth-made walls.

What truth is here, O man!
Hath hope been smitten in its early dawn!
Have clouds o'ercast thy purpose, trust or plan?
Have FAITH and struggle on!

Miscellany.

A writer, in reviewing the works of Mrs. Hemans in the last No. of Blackwood, discusses the question of woman's rights with a good sense and candour, which ought to commend his remarks to all those excellent people who are not quite sure whether the Turkish method with women is not nearer the right treatment, than even the customs of Christians—though the difference, to-be-sure, is not very great. We copy what he says on this subject:—

The difference between the mental qualities of the sexes is owing, we apprehend, far more to education than to nature. At all events, there is no such natural difference as warrants the distinction we make in the mental discipline we provide for them. There are certain professional studies with which no one thinks of vexing the mind of any one, man or woman, but those who intend to practise the professions; but why, in a good English library, there should be one half of it, and that the better half, which a young woman is not expected to read; this we never could understand, and never reflect on with common patience. Why may not a Locke, or a Paley, or a Dugald Stewart, train the mind of the future mother of a family? or why may not an intelligent young woman be a companion for her brother or her husband in his more serious moods of thought, as well as in his gayer and more trifling? Would the world lose anything of social happiness or moral refinement by this intellectual equality of the two sexes? You vex the memory of a young girl with dictionaries and vocabularies without end; you tax her memory in every conceivable manner; and at an after-age you give the literature of sentiment freely to her pillage: but that which should step between the two—the culture of the reason—this is entirely forbidden. If she learns a dozen modern languages, she does not read a single book in any one of them that would make her think. Even in her religious library, the same distinction is preserved. Books of sentimental piety—some of them maudlin enough—are thrust with kindest anxiety and most liberal profusion upon her; any work of theology, any work that discusses and examines, is as carefully excluded.

We are not contending that there is no difference whatever in the mental constitution of the two sexes. There may be less tendency to ratiocination in woman; there is certainly more of feeling, a quicker and more sensitive nature. One sees this especially in children. Mark them in their play-hours, in their holiday freedom, when they are left to themselves to find matter of enjoyment—how much more pleasure does the girl evidently derive from any beautiful or living thing that comes before it than the boy! We have an instance of it almost as we write. There is a group of children on the beach. The little girl is in perfect ecstasies, as she look at the sparkling waves that come bounding to her feet; she shouts, she leaps, she herself bounds towards them, then springs back as they approach, half frightened and half pleased—she knows no how to express her delight at this great playfellow she has found. Meanwhile the boy, her brother, does nothing but throw stones at it—of that he seems never wearied. The beach is a perfect armoury to him, and he pelts the graceful waves remorselessly. What is their grace to him? So, too, in an inland scene, a garden or a lawn, we have often noticed what exquisite pleasure a little girl will feel, as she watches a sparrow alight near her upon the ground, in search of crumbs or other food. Her little frame quite thrills as this other little piece of life comes hopping and pecking about her. She loads it, but with suppressed voice, with all the endearing epithets her vocabulary supplies. She is evidently embarrassed that they are so few: she makes up by their frequent repetition. She absolutely *loves* the little creature, with all whose movements she seems to have the keenest sympathy. Her brother, the boy, he has nothing for it but his unfailing stone, or he flings his hat at it. Unfailing, fortunately, the stone is not; for, if his skill as a marksman responded to his destructive zeal, there is nothing that a stone would kill that that would be left alive. A mere blind animal-activity seems, at that very interesting age, to distinguish the future lord of the creation.

At an after period of life, when thought has educated the youth into feeling, the picture is often entirely reversed. Then, unless the man be bred up a mere pleasure-hunter, seeking what he calls amusement in town or country, the superior education he has received makes him the more feeling, the more imaginative, because the more reflective of the two. That brother who once shocked his little sister by his stupid and cruel amusement, now looks with something like contempt at the frivolous tastes and occupations—at the system of poor artificial enjoyments—to which that sister has betaken herself. Now, if they are at the sea-side together, it is he who finds companionship in the waves, who finds thought grow more expanded, freer and bolder, in the presence of the boundless ocean. She, too dotes upon the sea, and sits down beside it—to read her novel. Now, if they ride or walk though the country together, it is his eye that sees the bird upon the bough—hers is on the distant dust some equipage is making.

But matters are mending, and will continue to mend. There are so many women of richly cultivated minds who have distinguished themselves in letters or in society, and made it highly feminine to be intelligent as well as good, and to have elevated as well as amiable feelings, that by-and-by the whole sex must adopt a new standard of education. It must, we presume, be by leaders of their own starting out of their own body, that the rest of the soft and timid flock must be led.

Yes, we are mending. Very different are our times from those when Madame de Genlis published her little work, *De l'Influence des Femmes sur la Littérature Française comme Protectrices des Lettres, et comme Auteurs.* She had to contend, with the same acrid energy, for the privilege of a lady to write, as a Turkish dame of the present century might be supposed to display, who should contend for the privilege of walking around unveiled, or rather unmuffled. And even she herself thinks it necessary to give certain rules to young women who write—as she would to young women who dance—how to comport themselves with consummate propriety; as not to enter into controversy, or use big words—in short, to deal with printer's ink, without soiling the most delicate fingers. As to that argument drawn from the supposed neglect of domestic duties—which it seems, in those days just emerging from barbarity, was still heard of—she dismisses it very briefly. "Comme ces devoirs dans une maison bien ordonnée, ne peuvent jamais pendre *plus d'une heure par jour*, cette objection est absolument nulle." As there is much implied in that "maison bien ordonnée," and as Madame de Genlis did not write for simple gentle-folks, it is to be hoped that the one hour per diem may admit of extension without any forfeiture of literary privileges. In her time, too, there was thought to be a sort of feud between authors and authoresses—a thing which in our day is quite inconceivable—for she writes, apropos of a charge of plagiarism, against La Fontaine, in the following indignant strains:—"Quelles que soient le bonhomie et la candeur d'un auteur, il sait que, par une loi tacite mais universelle, il est toujours dispensé de convenir qu'il doit à une femme une idée heureuse. Dans ce cas seulement le plagiat et le silence son également légitimes."

We have changed all that; we have had too many instances of women of talent and of genius to doubt their ability to excel—we make no exception—in any branch of literature whatever. We give them, on the other hand, no monopoly of elegance or grace, or delicacy of touch, as some affect to do. These qualities they are very likely to display; but they will be superior in them to authors of the male sex, only just so far as they are superior to those authors in genius and talent. There is still a practice in many critics to detect the style feminine from the style masculine. The sooner this is laid aside the better. There are styles which, speaking metaphorically, one may say have a feminine grace, or a feminine weakness. Such an observation has been made, by Sir James Mackintosh, on the style of Addison. But to pretend to say of a given page of composition whether a man or a woman has penned it, is absurd. We often hear it said, that none but a woman could have written the letters of Madame de Sévigné. If Cowper had been a woman, people would have said the same thing of his letters. They are unrivalled, at least, in our own language, for grace and elegance, and wit and playfulness. No woman, we believe—and the epistolary style is supposed to belong by especial right to the female pen—has ever written such charming letters as those to Lady Hesketh, and his old friend Thomas Hill. As to the letters of Madame de Sévigné, they so evidently come from a mother to a daughter, that it is impossible to forget for a moment the sex of the writer. But if the qualities which have given them literary celebrity are to be pronounced feminine, half the literature of France is of the same gender. Still less can we tolerate the affectation that pretends to discern a certain weakness, a tremulousness of the hand, when the pen is held by a woman. There is a grace and elegance, but, forsooth, a certain hesitation—a want of vigour and certainty of touch. Nonsense. Take *Our Village*, by Miss Mitford, and the *Sketch-Book* by Washington Irving: they are both of the graceful and elegant order of style; but the lady writes the English language with far more freedom, ease, and vigor, than the gentleman. The poetic element is mingled in her diction with far more taste and judgment. It glitters through her prose as the sunlight in the green tree—throwing its gold amongst the foliage, yet leaving it the same green, and simple, and refreshing object as before.

No—we will grant to woman no monopoly in the lighter elegancies, and presume nothing against her ability to excel in the graver qualities of authorship.

ADDRESS OF THE PEACE CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

In the month of September last, a Congress was held in the city of Brussels, whose great object was to promote and secure permanent peace among the civilized nations of the earth, by finding, if possible, an efficient substitute for the bloody, uncertain, and costly arbitrament of war. The Congress was composed of numerous individuals, speaking various languages, living under divers forms of government, and entertaining different political opinions and religious convictions, but drawn together by a common sentiment of humanity, and an ardent desire to promote the welfare of mankind, by removing the causes and incentives to war.

The eminent position which you occupy in the councils of the nations of Europe and America, induces the Congress, of which we are the representatives, to submit to your serious consideration, the great and important questions which formed the subject of their anxious deliberations, and respectfully, yet earnestly, to invite your attention to the conclusions at which they arrived. They will be found embodied in the following resolutions:

1st. That, in the judgment of this Congress, an appeal to arms for the purpose of deciding disputes among nations, is a custom condemned alike by religion, reason, justice, humanity, and the best interests of the people; and that, therefore, it considers it to be the duty of the civilized world to adopt measures calculated to effect its entire abolition.

2d. That it is of the highest importance to urge on the several governments of Europe and America, the necessity of introducing a clause into all international treaties, providing for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration, in an amicable manner, and according to the rules of justice and equity—special arbitrators, or a supreme international court, to be invested with power to decide in cases of necessity, as a last resort.

3d. That the speedy convocation of a Congress of Nations, composed of duly appointed representatives, for the purpose of framing a well-digested and authoritative international Code, is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as the organization of such a body, and the unanimous adoption of such a Code, would be an effectual means of promoting universal peace.

4th. That this Congress respectfully calls the attention of civilized Governments to the necessity of general and simultaneous disarmament, as a means whereby they may greatly diminish the financial burdens which press upon them; remove a fertile cause of irritation and inquietude; inspire mutual confidence; and promote the interchange of good offices, which, while they advance the interests of each State in particular, contribute largely to the maintenance of general peace, and to the lasting prosperity of nations.

These substitutes for war, adopted by the Congress, require no arguments to enforce them, for it is evident that if they be adopted and applied, that terrible scourge of humanity will cease to afflict and [illegible] which for centuries past have desolated the earth, can be justified on the ground of equity, utility, or necessity; nor can any one of them be cited whose fearful results are not loudly condemned by the voice of Humanity and Religion. The war spirit of past generations has loaded most, if not all civilized nations, with enormous debts, paralyzed their industry, interrupted their commerce, retarded the progress of science, literature, and art, and created a spirit of jealousy and animosity among the nations which long years of peace have not been able completely to subdue.

Europe, at this moment, presents the melancholy spectacle of an "armed peace." Her mighty legions are ready to take the field; and it is feared, that, under these melancholy circumstances, a single spark from the torch of war may wrap the world in flames; may God avert so terrible a catastrophe!

The great questions of Peace and War are confided to the hands of those to whom the government of the nations has been entrusted. Their responsibility is as great as their power; and while the Congress would earnestly pray that "The God of Peace" may deign to preside over their councils, it would impress them, in the name of the dearest interests of humanity, civilization, and religion, promptly to adopt the most effective measures for preventing a return of the horrors of war, and for securing to all nations the blessings of a solid and lasting peace.

The substitution of arbitration for war would be an immense step towards this object; the principle, and the means for giving it effect, might be embodied in special treaties, but the progress of sound political opinions leads still further. The convening of a Congress, composed of the most enlightened and eminent men of all countries, for the purpose of framing an international code, which shall place the relations between the different nations on a solid and intelligent basis; and the institution of a High Court of Nations, for the final adjudication of questions in accordance with the great and comprehensive principles of such a Code, would not only remove the causes of war, but cement a noble and holy alliance between both governments and peoples.

In anticipation of so great a result, it is desirable that the necessity of a general and simultaneous disarmament should take place, as such an act, without compromising the dignity or impairing the strength of governments, would be the surest guarantee for the preservation of general peace, and the advancement of public prosperity.

The Congress is fully aware that the force of circumstances, the progress of modern industry and commerce, the greater facility and frequency of communication between the nations, the diffusion of knowledge, and the more elevated sentiments of humanity and religion, all tend to prevent the recurrence of war; but it is not less assured that it remains with the governments of the civilized world to put an end to that fatal and sanguinary custom, by adopting those wise and necessary measures which shall lead to so happy a result.

In submitting to statesmen the recommendations embodied in the resolutions, the Congress entertains a just and legitimate confidence that they will not be disregarded; and that the governments of Europe and America, animated by an ardent and sincere desire to promote the welfare of the great commonwealth of nations, will determine, as in the performance of a sacred duty, to give them a practical application, and thus aid in securing the peace of the world.

AUGUSTE FISSCHERS, Belgium, President.
WILLIAM EWART, England,
ELIHU BURRITT, U. States,
FRANCISQUE BOUVET, France,
M. SURINGAR, Holland,
} Vice Presidents.

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN 1685.

From Mr. Macaulay's History.

"The wits and the Puritans had never been on friendly terms. There was no sympathy between the two classes. They looked on the whole system of human life from different points and in different lights. The earnestness of each was the jest of the other. The pleasures of each were the torment of the other. To the stern precision even the innocent sport of the fancy seemed a crime. To light and festive natures the solemnity of the zealous brethren furnished copious matter of ridicule. From the Reformation to the civil war, almost every writer, gifted with a fine sense of the ludicrous, had taken some opportunity of assailing the straight-haired, snuffling, whining saints, who christened their children out of the Book of Nehemiah, who groaned in spirit at the sight of Jack in the Green, and who thought it impious to taste plum porridge on Christmas day. At length a time came when the laughers began to look grave in their turn. The rigid, sternly zealots, after having furnished much good sport during two generations, rose up in arms, conquered, ruled, and, grimly smiling, trod down under their feet the whole crowd of mockers. The wounds inflicted by gay and petulant malice were retaliated with the gloomy and implacable malice peculiar to bigots who mistake their own rancour for virtue. The theatres were closed. The players were flogged. The press was put under the guardianship of austere licensers. The Muses were banished from their own favourite haunts. Cowley was ejected from Cambridge, and Crashaw from Oxford. The young candidate for academical honours was no longer required to write Ovidian epistles or Virgilian pastorals, but was strictly interrogated by a board of louring Supralapsarians as to the day and hour when he experienced the new birth. Such a system was of course fruitful of hypocrites. Under sober clothing and under visages composed to the expression of austerity lay hid during several years, the intense desire of license and of revenge. At length that desire was gratified. The Restoration emancipated thousands of minds from a yoke which had become insupportable. The old fight recommenced, but with an animosity altogether new. It was now not a sportive combat, but a war to the death. The Roundhead had no better quarter to expect from those whom he had persecuted than a cruel slave driver can expect from insurgent slaves still bearing the marks of his collars and his scourges.

The war between wit and Puritanism soon became a war between wit and morality. The hostility excited by a grotesque caricature of virtue did not spare virtue herself. Whatever the canting Roundhead had regarded with reverence was insulted. Whatever he had proscribed was favoured. Because he had been scrupulous about trifles, all scruple were treated with derison. Because he had covered his failings with the mask of devotion, men were encouraged to obtrude with cynic impudence all their most scandalous vices on the public eye. Because he had punished illicit love with barbarous severity, virgin purity and conjugal fidelity were to be made a jest. To that sanctimonious jargon, which was his shibboleth, wits opposed another jargon not less absurd and much more odious. As he never opened his mouth except in scriptural phrase, the new breed of wits and fine gentlemen never opened their mouths without uttering ribaldry of which a porter would now be ashamed, and without calling on their Maker to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, and damn them.

It is not strange, therefore, that our polite literature, when it revived with the revival of the old civil and ecclesiastical policy, should have been profoundly immoral. A few eminent men, who belonged to an earlier and better age, were exempt from the general contagion. The verse of Waller still breathed the sentiments which had animated a more chivalrous generation. Cowley, distinguished at once as a loyalist and as a man of letters, raised his voice courageously against the immorality which disgraced both letters and loyalty. A mightier spirit, unsubdued by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around, a song so sublime and so holy that it would not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal Virtues whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold. The vigorous and fertile genius of Butler, if it did not altogether escape the prevailing infection, took the disease in a mild form. But these were men whose minds had been trained in a world which had passed away. They gave place in no long time to a younger generation of poets; and of that generation, from Dryden down to Durfey, the common characteristic was hard hearted, shameless, swaggering, licentiousness, at once inelegant and inhuman. The influence of these writers was doubtless noxious, yet less noxious than it would have been had they been less depraved. The poison which they administered was so strong, that it was, in no long time, rejected with nausea. None of them understood the dangerous art of associating images of unlawful pleasure with all that is endearing and ennobling. None of them was aware that a certain decorum is essential even to voluptuousness, that drapery may be more alluring than exposure, and that the imagination may be far more powerfully moved by delicate hints which impel it to exert itself than by gross descriptions which it takes in passively.

[illegible] most the whole polite literature of the reign of Charles the Second. But the very quintessence of that spirit will be found in the comic drama. The playhouses, shut by the meddling fanatic in the day of his power, were again crowded. To their old attractions new and more powerful attractions had been added. Scenery, dresses, and decorations, such as would now be thought mean and absurd, but such as would have been esteemed incredibly magnificent by those who, early in the seventeenth century, sat on the filthy benches of the Hope, or under the thatched roof of the Rose, dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The fascination of sex was called in to aid the fascination of art: and the young spectator saw, with emotions unknown to the contemporaries of Shakspeare and Johnson, tender and sprightly heroines personified by lovely women. From the day on which the theatres were reopened they became seminaries of vice; and the evil propagated itself. The profligacy of the representations soon drove away sober people. The frivolous and dissolute who remained required every year stronger and stronger stimulants. Thus the artists corrupted the spectators, and the spectators the artists, till the turpitude of the drama became such as must astonish all who are not aware that extreme relaxation is the natural effect of extreme restraint, and that an age of hypocrisy is, in the regular course of things, followed by an age of impudence.

Nothing is more characteristic of the times than the care with which the poets contrived to put all their loosest verses into the mouths of women.—The compositions in which the greatest license was taken were the epilogues. They were almost always recited by favourite actresses; and nothing charmed the depraved audience so much as to hear lines grossly indecent repeated by a beautiful girl, who was supposed to have not yet lost her innocence.

Our theatre was indebted in that age for many plots and characters to Spain, to France, and to the old English masters; but whatever our dramatists touched they tainted. In their imitations the houses of Calderon's stately and high spirited Castilian gentlemen became sties of vice, Shakspeare's Viola a procuress, Molière's misanthrope a ravisher, Molière's Agnes an adulteress. Nothing could be so pure or so heroic but that it became foul and ignoble by transfusion through those foul and ignoble minds."—*Literary World.*

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.—"But the most illustrious of all booksellers in our boyish days, not for his great names not for his dinners, not for his riches that we know of, nor for any full-grown celebrity, but for certain little penny books, radiant with gold and, rich with bad pictures, was Mr. Newberry, the famous children's bookseller, at the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, and Ludgate-street. The house is still occupied by a successor, and children may have books there as formerly,—but not the same. The gilding, we confess, we regret; gold, somehow, never looked so well as in adorning literature. The pictures also,—may we own that we prefer the uncouth coats, the staring blotted eyes, and round pieces of rope for hats, of our very badly drawn cotemporaries, to all the propriety of modern embellishments? We own the superiority of the latter, and would have it proceed and prosper; but a boy of our time was much admired, though his coat looked like his grandfather's. The engravings probably were of that date. Enormous, however, is the improvement upon the morals of these little books; and there we give them up, and with unmitigated delight. The good little boy, the hero of the infant literature in those days, stood, it must be acknowledged, the chance of being a very selfish man. His virtue consisted in being different from some other little boy, perhaps his brother; and his reward was having a fine coach to ride in, and being a King Pepin. Now-a-days, since the world has had a great moral earthquake that set it thinking, the little boy promises to be much more of a man; thinks of others, as well as works for himself; and looks for his reward to a character for good sense and beneficence. In no respect is the progress of the age more visible, or more importantly so, than in this apparently trifling matter. The most bigoted opponents of rational education are obliged to adopt a portion of its spirit, in order to retain a hold which their own teaching must accordingly undo; and if the times were not full of hopes in other respects, we should point to this evidence of their advancement, and be content with it.

"One of the most pernicious mistakes of the old children's books, was the inculcation of a spirit of revenge and cruelty, in the tragic examples which were intended to deter their readers from idleness and disobedience. One, if he did not behave himself, was to be shipwrecked, and eaten by lions; another to become a criminal, who was not to be taught better, but rendered a mere wicked contrast to the luckier virtue; and, above all, none were to be poor but the vicious, and none to ride in their coaches but little Sir Charles Grandisons, and all-perfect sheriffs.—We need not say how contrary this was to the real spirit of Christianity, which, at the same time, they so much insisted on. The perplexity in after life, when reading of poor philosophers and rich vicious men, was in proportion; or rather, virtue and mere worldly success became confounded. In the present day, the profitableness of good conduct is still inculcated, but in a sounder spirit. Charity makes the proper allowance for all; and none are excluded from the hope of being wiser and happier. Men, in short, are not taught to love and labour for themselves alone, or for their little dark corners of egotism; but to take the world along with them into a brighter sky of improvement; and to discern the want of success in success itself, if not accompanied by a liberal knowledge.

"The *Seven Champions of Christendom, Valentine and Orson*, and other books of the fictitious class, which have survived their more rational brethren (as the latter thought themselves), are of a much better order, and, indeed, survive by a natural instinct in society to that effect. With many absurdities, they have a general tone of manly and social virtue, which may be safely left to itself. The absurdities wear out, and the good remains. Nobody in these times will think of meeting giants and dragons; of giving blows that confound an army, or tearing the hearts out of two lions on each side of him, as easily as if he were dipping his hands into a lottery. But there are still giants and wild beasts to encounter, of another sort, the conquest of which requires the old enthusiasm and disinterestedness; arms and war are be checked in their career, and have been so, by that new might of opinion to which everybody may contribute much in his single voice; and wild men, or those who would become so, are tamed, by education and brotherly kindness, into ornaments of civil life."—*Leigh Hunt.*

MR. MACAULAY'S PROGRAMME OF HIS HISTORY.—The following are the first pages of Mr. Macaulay's forthcoming "History of England:"—"I propose to write the history of England from the accession of King James the Second down to a time which is within the memory of men still living. I shall recount the errors which, in a few months, alienated a loyal gentry and priesthood from the house of Stuart. I shall trace the course of that revolution which terminated the long struggle between our sovereigns and their parliaments, and bound up together the rights of the people and the title of the reigning dynasty. I shall relate how the new settlement was, during many troubled years, successfully defended against foreign and domestic enemies; how, under that settlement, the authority of law and the security of property were found to be compatible with a liberty of discussion and of individual action never before known; how, from the auspicious union of order and freedom, sprang a prosperity of which the annals of human affairs had furnished no example; how our country, from a state of ignominious vassalage, rapidly rose to the place of umpire among European powers; how her opulence and her martial glory grew together; how, by wise and resolute good faith, was gradually established a public credit fruitful of marvels, which to the statesmen of any former age would have seemed incredible; how a gigantic commerce gave birth to a maratime power, compared with which every other maratime power, ancient or modern, sinks into insignificance; how Scotland, after ages of enmity, was at length united to England, not merely by legal bonds, but by indissoluble ties of interest and affection; how, in America, the British colonies rapidly became far mightier and wealthier than the realms which Cortez and Pizarro had added to the dominions of Charles the Fifth; how, in Asia, British adventurers founded an empire not less splendid, and more durable, than that of Alexandria. Nor will it be less my duty faithfully to record disasters mingled with triumphs, with great national crimes and follies far more humiliating than any disaster. It will be seen that what we justly account our chief blessings were not without alloy. It will be seen that the system which effectually secured our liberties against the encroachments of kingly power gave birth to a new class of abuses, from which absolute monarchies are exempt. It will be seen that, in consequence partly of unwise interference, and partly of unwise neglect, the increase of wealth and the extension of trade produced, together with immense good, some evils from which rude and poor societies are free. It will be seen how, in two important dependencies of the crown, wrong was followed by just retribution; how imprudence and obstinacy broke the ties which bound the North American colonies to the parent state; how Ireland, cursed by the domination of race over race, and of religion over religion, remained indeed a member of the empire, but a withered and distorted member, adding no strength to the body politic, and reproachfully pointed at by all who feared or envied the greatness of England. Yet, unless I greatly deceive myself, the general effect of this chequered narrative will be to excite thankfulness in all religious minds, and hope in the breasts of all patriots. For the history of our country during the last hundred and sixty years is eminently the history of physical, of moral, and of intellectual improvement. Those who compare the age on which their lot has fallen with a golden age which exists only in their imagination, may talk of degeneracy and decay; but no man who is correctly informed as to the past will be disposed to take a morose or desponding view of the present. I should very imperfectly execute the task which I have undertaken if I were merely to treat of battles and sieges, of the rise and fall of administrations, of intrigues in the palace, and of debates in the parliament. It will be my endeavour to relate the history of the people as well as the history of the government, to trace the progress of useful and ornamental arts, to describe the rise of religious sects and the changes of literary taste, to portray the manners of successive generations, and not to pass by with neglect even the revolutions which have taken place in dress, furniture, repasts, and public entertainments. I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors. The events which I propose to relate form only a single act of a great and eventful drama extending through ages, and must be very imperfectly understood, unless the plot of the preceding acts be well known. I shall therefore introduce my narrative by a slight sketch of the history of our country, from the earliest times. I shall pass very rapidly over many centuries, but I shall dwell at some length on the vicissitudes of that contest which the administration of King James the Second brought to a decisive crisis."

THE STEAM ENGINE.—From the period when the steam engine was improved by Mr. Watt, in 1764, the principles of machinery and power of steam have wholly engrossed the attention of physical scholars, insomuch that there is now scarcely a branch of art or manufacture which is not directed by the steam-engine in place of human labour. As a comparatively perfect knowledge has been gained of the amount of mechanical power (it may be so termed) which exists in coal, much less of that valuable material is consumed in the production of steam than formerly; and such is the nicety with which machinery is adapted to its purpose, that the feeble hand of man has been armed with a power to which no limits can be assigned. The steam engine has infinitely added to the means of human comfort and enjoyment, and rendered cheap and accessible all the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has become a thing alike stupendous for its force and its flexibility; the trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin and rend an oak, is nothing in comparison of it; it can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal like wax before it; it can draw out without breaking a thread as fine as a grossamer, and lift up a ship of war like a bubble into the air; it can embroider muslin and forge anchors; it can cut steel into ribands, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.

At least 12,000 machines are now in use in Great Britain, by which the labour of 250,000 horses is saved. Supposing each horse to consume annually the produce of two acres, 500,000 acres are thus set free for other purposes. Dr. Lardner shows that the steam, from one pound of coal, has a power of raising 667 tons weight of any material to the height of one foot; and that, therefore, an ounce of coal would raise 42 tons one foot high, or 18 pounds a mile in height. Since a force of 18 pounds is capable of drawing two tons upon a railway, it follows that an ounce of coal can draw two tons a mile, or one ton two miles, upon a level railway. The circumference of the earth measures 25,000 miles; if it were begirt by an iron railway, a load of one ton would be drawn round it in six weeks by the mechanical power that resides in the third part of a ton of coals! But listen to what the same philosopher further says:—

"The state of physical science at the present moment justifies the expectation that we are on the eve of mechanical discoveries more important than any which have yet appeared. Philosophy already directs her finger at sources of inexhaustible power in the phenomena of electricity and magnetism. The steam engine itself, with the gigantic powers conferred upon it by the immortal Watt, will dwindle into insignificance in comparison of the hidden powers of nature still to be revealed; and the day will probably come when that machine, which is now extending the blessings of civilization to the remotest skirts of the globe, will cease to exist, except in the page of history."—*Dublin Advocate.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The *Corsaire* says that it has been reported that M. Emile de Girardin had been poisoned. The report originated in his having bitten his own tongue.

DEATH OF IBRAHIM PASHA.—Certain information reached Paris on the 1st to the effect that Ibrahim Pacha died on the 10th ult. and had been succeeded by Abbas Pacha.

The eminent sculptor, Ludwig Von Schwanthaler, expired on the 14th ult. at Munich, in his 47th year. He was buried with great pomp on the 17th ult. thousands attending his funeral.

SULPHATE OF AMONIA.—Half an ounce of this salt to each gallon of water is recommended, after numerous trials, as an application to geraniums, fuchsias, peas, dahlias, and newly-potted green-house cuttings. It greatly promotes their vigour, but must not be applied oftener than once in ten days.—*Gardeners' Almanac.*

"A Yankee Captain" tells the *Cork Examiner* that on his last visit to Cork he gave four dollars to the erection of a monument to O'Connell. As there is neither monument nor talk of one, he asks: "Could you tell me who has my four dollars, as I guess I could make that chap fork out."

It affords us sincere pleasure to be able to inform our readers that the King of Denmark has fully confirmed the proclamation of Governor Von Scholten, giving complete emancipation to all slaves within the Danish dominions—a consummation which was welcomed with great delight by the emancipated.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

The French National Assembly has voted a reduced estimate for its Anti-Slavery squadrea on the coast of Africa. And M. Billault, when he brought forward this estimate, informed the Assembly that negotiations have been opened with the Court of St. James's, with a view to a modification of the conventions of 1845.

The decree of the Provisional Government of France abolishing imprisonment for debt has been repealed by the National Assembly, and the law with respect to such imprisonment restored to precisely the same footing as that upon which it stood previous to the revolution of February.

We regret exceedingly to have to announce the probable retirement from Parliament of Dr. Bowring, the member for Bolton. Ill health is the reason we have heard assigned for the resolution to which the learned gentleman has come.—*Manchester Examiner.*

An Englishman [says *Jerrold's Newspaper* speaking of the French election] picked up many scus by singing at the haunts where his countrymen most do congregate a doggrel song, with this burthen:—

"Your precious Nap
'e not worth a rap:
But one he'll get—
On his knuckles!—yet."

The *gens-d'armes* stood doubtingly by whilst this melody was given with great energy. How knew they that the foreign song breathed no treason? But as the English manifested only hilarity, the French officials walked quietly away, looking as wise as they could.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.—THE "imperial clay" at the Hotel des Invalides has carried the election. The ex-Emperor of FRANCE is, in his tomb, made President. The living is honoured in the dead; the wreath of *immortelles* is adopted as the civic garland of first magistrate. Such, in truth, is the triumph of LOUIS NAPOLEON. He has thrown the dust of his uncle in the eyes of France, and France in the blindness votes him prime authority. Very wisely did LOUIS NAPOLEON set up his abiding-place, during the fever of his candidateship, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Column of the Place Vendôme. He had necessary audacity—the valorous imprudence—not to shrink from the contrast; and has been duly rewarded for his consummate conceit.—The nephew's bronze has been so far worthy of the uncle's.

The assured success of the candidate will, at the approaching Christmas, afford a melancholy pleasure in certain exiled circles. The royal party at Claremont will be all the blither for it; and HENRY the FIFTH feel the French crown heavier upon his brow. The Presidentship of LOUIS NAPOLEON will be considered as no other than a leaf in the history of France—blank or bloody as it may be—between a republic and a monarchy. The leaf is turned over, and—Re-enter the BOURBON, elder or younger.

This the misfortune—this the besetting evil—of the elevation of LOUIS NAPOLEON to the Presidency. It undoes all that France, since February, has done. There is no longer a growing sense of security in republican institutions. The kingdom is again set up to be bid for by royalists. Commerce is paralyzed—capital take flight—whilst the private auction goes on—and who shall predict the measure or the limit of the misery, in the fulfilment of the "transaction?" Henceforth, ridicule is harmless in France. Boulogne laughs at a mountebank invader—laughs at him whilst she collars him;—a few years pass—and, with a vast majority, of voices, she wills him to the Presidential chair. LOUIS NAPOLEON is, doubtless, elected. We have a President. *When* may we expect the barricades? *Jerrold's Newspaper.*

THE FUGITIVE LEADERS.—It is now tolerably certain that the redoubtable Richard O'Gorman, whose perilous adventures by land and flood would afford a stock in trade sufficient to keep the most prolific novel writer in full work for twelve months to come, effected his escape from the port of Dublin, whither he was tracked by the police, who were thrown off the scent by the doubles and turns of the hunted game. He got on board a veessel lying in the Custom House Docks, bound for Smyrna, which was subjected to a rigid search no less than three times before she entered the Bay of Dublin on her outward voyage: once while in dock; a second time at Halpin's Pool, at the end of the North Wall; and a third time at the Pigeon House Fort; but so well was the fugitive disguised as a seaman, that his appearance never excited the slightest suspicion. From Smyrna he is said to have gone to Constantinople, and from thence to Paris, where he remains at present. No less narrow was the escape of Mr. John Dillion, upon whose head there was set a reward of £300, and whose active participation in the late rebellion, more especially in the affair at Killenaule, rendered his capture a matter of grave importance to the government. Previous to his flight to America he spent several days in the town of Galway, habited as a clergyman of the Church of Rome, awaiting the departure of a vessel bound to New York. One day however, while quitely perambulating the streets, he perceived, by an earnest stare from a passer by, that he was recognised by a party whose acquaintance-ship he considered would be more dangerous than serviceable at so critical a period. Taking the alarm, he took a boat on the instant, and set sail for the adjacent island of Arran, where he met shelter and protection at the house of an old friend. He was not many minutes located here when a war steamer was descried bearing down with all speed towards the island. All now seemed lost, but the ingenuity of his host inteposed, and by a clever ruse he succeeded in baffling his pursuers. Two boats were got ready, manned by crews of the hardy fishermen who dwell in those parts—one a light rowing boat, the other a swift lugger. Into the former Dillon jumpred, and was rowed with all speed towards the steamer; while according to directions the lugger, with all her sails set, and with a highly favourable gale put out to sea, as if flying before the steamer, which immediately gave chase, never for once heeding the boat with its passengers, which passed close to her bows, and which gained the port of Galway without causing any observation. In two days afterwards he was on the Atlantic.—*Irish Paper.*

THE BARONESS ST. MART.—This lady was tried at the Central Criminal Court, London, on Saturday, charged with stealing two rings, the property of Sir John Hare. The prosecutor, an ancient Adonis of some 66 summers, had been a year or two ago courting the accused—a young lady of great personal attractions. During the season of billing and cooing, which seemed to be *ex parte* or all on the side of Sir John, he showed to the lady in his house, where she and her mother had been on a visit, a couple of rings, one of which belonged to the deceased partner of Sir John. The baroness (then Miss Todhunter) put the rings on her finger, and said she would keep them; but Sir John put in a demmurrer, and averred she should not; yet "Missy," as he used to call her, skipped away down stairs with her annular treasure; and the old knight having some letters to write, forgot for a week the existence of the rings, which he did not even remember when Miss Todhunter and her mother were leaving the house. Some months afterwards, however, hearing that Miss Todhunter was about to change her condition, he came up to London from Bath, and demanded his rings, when he was told they had long since been returned. At length the Baron St. Mart, a French nobleman, having taken Miss Todhunter "for better, for worse," Sir John's sorrow for the loss of his his rings became much aggravated, and he decided on charging the baroness with the larceny. After a hearing which lasted nine hours, the Jury, after a moment's deliberation, acquitted the accused much to the satisfaction of a crowded court.—*Dublin Advocate.*

AWFUL CATASTROPHE ON BOARD THE "L